









NECESSITY FOR
UNIVERSAL TOLERATION,
EXEMPLIFIED IN THE
SPEECHES ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION,

IN
1805 and 1808,

BY
MR. HENRY GRATTAN, M.P. || THE EARL OF MOIRA,
LORD HUTCHINSON, K.B. || THE BISHOP OF NORWICH;

AND IN THE
SENTIMENTS OF SIR J. C. HIPPISEY, BART. M.P.

CAREFULLY REVISED AND CORRECTED FROM AUTHENTIC MSS.

TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED

*A Succinct Expression of the Bishop of Landaff's Opinion
relative to the Policy and Expediency of the Question,
at this Momentous Crisis,*

AND

THE LAST FRENCH IMPERIAL DECREES RESPECTING THE
PAPAL DOMINIONS.

WITH

Preliminary Observations,

BY

A PROTESTANT LAYMAN.

Pertinacity in opinion more frequently arises from a partial view of a subject than from a full comprehension of it, and certainly is not of itself any proof of rectitude of judgment.

*Bishop of Landaff's Charge to his Diocese,
in June, 1805, page 43.*

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1808.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM H. JOHNSON

OF THE

CHURCH OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS

1845 and 1846

AND THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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AND

DEDICATION.

TO THE

ROMAN CATHOLICS, DISSENTERS, &c.

Resident in Great Britain.

THE Cause of the Roman Catholics and Dissenters in Ireland, is the Cause of every Roman Catholic and Dissenter in Great Britain. The shades of difference are only to be found in the extent of misery to which the inhabitants of that island have been reduced. It is a Cause which must come home to the heart and understanding of every individual among you; to you, therefore, the following sheets are dedicated, not only because the subject-matter is your own, but likewise, because they contain the principles of sound reason and enlightened legislation, and exhibit the sentiments of unprejudiced and high-minded manhood.

THE EDITOR.

London,
July 2, 1808.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

WE congratulate the public on the rapid progress, which this great question has lately made. The friends of real liberty have every inducement to persevere in their efforts. To those who have the sacred name of Freedom perpetually in their mouths, I particularly address myself. Let them not have the vanity to suppose, that they can be consistent with themselves, when they make a distinction between civil and religious liberty. None such exists in truth and reason: Liberty consists not in the outward carriage of the body, but in the port of the mind: The

limbs may be free to move and to act; but if our opinions, our consciences are in chains, the sources of vitality are poisoned and corroded: we may move and crawl, bearing about us the face and semblance of freemen, but we must yet feel and think as slaves. It is a strong argument against all laws imposing penalties for religious belief, at least in countries which are in possession of a free form of government, that they militate against the principles of liberty, and are in direct opposition to that constitution which is established by law, and in this island confirmed by a revolution. He, who values his own freedom ought to teach himself to respect that of other men. Liberty is not the exclusive possession of a sect, but the inheritance of man, the property of nations: it belongs not to this or to that religion, but to all times, to all places, and to all countries. This is the strong

strong and elevated ground on which the Catholics ought to place themselves. This is the real genuine foundation of their claim. They ask admission into all the rights, privileges and immunities of their constitution, from which they have been so long and so unjustly excluded ; they advance this claim—not as sectarists, but as Englishmen ; they make their appeal not to your philosophy, your liberality or your humanity, but to their rights and your constitution ; they ask why they are to be despoiled of that, which is the birth-right and inheritance of the meanest Briton, because they still adhere to their religion, which was once yours, and from which the Church of England at least appears to have departed with such cautious and trembling steps, that even Transubstantiation itself was not rejected from the Thirty-nine Articles, but with doubt and hesitation. Queen Elizabeth, that

female Apostle of our holy church, never explicitly renounced that doctrine. The zealots of this day must blush for the honour of their ancestors, when truth obliges them to make the melancholy acknowledgment, that such an opinion, the corner stone of Popery, was every thing but admitted amongst the articles of their religion: The Catholic therefore rests his claim on general principles, and calls on you to prove that he has forfeited his rights to civil privileges; because he lives, and means to die, in that profession of faith, which is received and acknowledged by the most numerous denomination of Christians. If one predominant sect has a right to persecute others, Christianity, in the present state of it, would be a curse, and not a blessing. If the 2000 minute divisions, which inflame, distract and torment the Christian world, are to take up arms against each other, and de-

clare

clare a perpetual war of pains and penalties, there will be no end to the misery of man; particularly in this country, where the lowest person in the community may become the founder of a sect, without any materials for his new vocation, but a hot head, a clouded and muddled understanding, a hypocritical cant, and an uninformed mind. The Catholic is the religion of a gentleman, and has been professed by the greatest nations, and by the most eloquent, the most ingenious and the most enlightened amongst men.—Their clergy receive a learned education. Every man cannot seize on the rights of the priesthood, and utter his distempered imagination, from a tub or a wheelbarrow, to a fanatical multitude; who desert the sober worship of the established church to follow every field preacher, who, however, generally speaking is a fitter candidate for Bedlam than for the pulpit. When

I blame and lament these excesses, let no man suppose that I, who am the advocate of general and complete toleration to every man and to every sect, wish to restrain even the nonsense of religious zeal, and to impose penalties on the fool who is the enthusiast, in order to prevent him from becoming the dupe of the knave. I respect the right of private judgment in matters of religion too highly not to be willing to suffer even the abuse of this liberty, and to tolerate opinions which appear to me not only to be absurd, but in some degree mischievous. These observations have been wrung from me by the conduct of certain sectaries in this country, who appear to think that no men have a right to differ from the established church but themselves, and whose supposed leaders have presumed to pledge the whole of Scotland, and the greater por-
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tion of England against the Catholic claims; I fear, that most Christian churches have dealt too liberally in the doctrine of exclusive salvation. God forbid, that I should be so unreasonable as to wish to prevent the doctors of any sect, from dooming those who differ from them to eternal punishment! It becomes not an ignorant and unlettered layman to approach this holy shrine, or to endeavour to wield this two-edged sword, which has been used by every combatant, with so much force and so little discretion, as to have entirely deformed the whole frame of our holy religion, and to oblige us to look, in vain, for the candour, moderation, and simplicity of the primitive Christians. If I am to acknowledge infallibility in fallible man, I would rather bow my neck to the dignified, the clear, the sensible form of many ages, and of many nations,

even in this hour of his declension, than to his rivals at Hackney.* I prefer the mild, the splendid, the decorative superstition of Rome, to the wild, the gloomy, the cold and melancholy spirit of persecuting fanaticism, which endeavours to correct justice, and proscribes Ireland. It proves to what an extraordinary degree the nature of man can be inconsistent, when we see those, who claim a right to dissent from establishments, the most severe and clamorous in their opposition to the exercise of that very right by others, who, if antiquity of religion, number, power, or strength have any weight in the argument, are much more entitled to equality of privileges, than those who endeavour to exclude them can possibly pretend to be. If I had been the advocate for the emanci-

* We do not allude to the respectable seminary which was formerly established under the celebrated Dr. Price.

pation of the negroes, I confess that I should hesitate before I became a persecutor in Ireland. I would endeavour to practise as well as preach good-will, and peace towards man. I should consider it my duty rather to love my Christian neighbour for that in which we agree, than to hate him for that in which we differ. It has not pleased the Divine Providence to ordain uniformity of worship and belief even amongst Christians. What God permits, man must tolerate. All men, who read the Bible, will give their own interpretations to the various texts of Scripture; and as long as they differ in their reasoning and intellectual powers, so long must these divisions continue: they often arise from the conscientious scruples of upright minds, but they are generally produced by the habits of our early years, which time, and perhaps prejudice, have fortified and confirmed

confirmed to such a degree, that even an honest and a candid mind cannot suffer itself to examine dispassionately either their origin or their truth. We should now hasten to put a period to such silly causes of division, lest it should be made the reproach of our reason and policy—that the disputes concerning popery had survived the existence of the Pope himself, and that we should still affect to apprehend danger from his ecclesiastical supremacy over the Catholics of Ireland, when we see that he is not only without power and authority on the Continent, but actually deprived of the means of protecting his own government and person. The established church of this country may be threatened, but it is certainly not from the designs or the intrigues of his late Holiness the Pope. A tremendous power advances against us, which has already

overturned

overturned every thing that opposed it. We may soon have to contend—not with France alone, but with the collected force of all Europe. Every port, from Bergen in Norway to Toulon in the Mediterranean, may in the course of a year or two contain fleets destined for the invasion of Ireland. The infidel Frenchman—the bigoted Spaniard—the superstitious Russian—the inveterate Dane—the plodding Dutchman, may depose, for a season, their mutual injuries, jealousies and hatreds, and agree in a combined effort to endeavour to atone for their own sufferings, and to stifle the sense of their own humiliation by the entire destruction of a Power, whom they accuse, at least, of having prolonged, if it has not entirely caused the miseries of the Continent.

The world is now so constituted, that
either

either England or France must recede. Whilst the one claims all the sea, and the other all the land, there is neither pause nor respite to the miseries and devastation of Europe. The nations on the Continent look, with anxious expectation, to the termination of this long continued struggle. No man can imagine that either the cause of France or England can be popular on the Continent. France has shewn too much ambition, and been the cause of too much mischief to surrounding nations, not to have incurred universal hatred. No person, but a school-boy, or a minister, can be so ridiculous as to suppose, that England can have conciliated the affection, the gratitude, or the esteem of any one power in the world. They may hate and fear France, but they neither feel sympathy or love for us. They know that our professions, and our language

have

have been in direct opposition to our conduct; and that we have talked of social order, morals, religion, and, above all, of the sacred laws of nations; but that our practice has been spoliation and rapine, notwithstanding the magnificence of your promises, and your high-sounding expressions. I could bring facts to your recollection, which would induce you to believe, what is really the case, that you have neither friend nor ally on the Continent. Some of the nations may be reluctantly forced to fight their own battles against France, but they will never fight yours. If, therefore, you are weak abroad, you ought to endeavour to be strong at home. If you are engaged in a war, not for power, empire, or dominion, but for existence, you ought to prepare the means which a contest, apparently so unequal, imperiously demands:—reconcile all your subjects to
the

the government, and permit every man to suppose that he has his share in the common interest of the state: Leave it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer or to Dr. Duigenan, to discuss those miserable fooleries which have lately disgraced the debates in parliament, and which certainly occupy little of the attention of the minister of any other King in Europe. Those gentlemen may believe, that the doctrine of transubstantiation, the supremacy of the Pope, and the opinions of councils, held during the twelfth century, are the dangers which threaten this empire with conquest and subjugation ; but if the nation shall join them in sentiment, they are undone ; if by the power or the eloquence of such miserable statesmen they can deprive themselves of the hearts and energies of four millions of men, they will soon receive the punishment which such infuriate folly so justly deserves. I

admire

admire the eloquence of Mr. Sheridan, the patriotick effusions at the London Tavern, and the general enthusiasm excited in favour of the Spaniards and their cause, who are now fighting for their religion, the Pope, and their own independence; but, at the same time, I would seriously call their attention to the case of their fellow-subjects who also are Catholics, who also believe in the supremacy of the Pope, and are capable of displaying the same courage and energy in a cause equally just and honourable,—that of their own independence, and of their Protestant countrymen, against the common despoiler of the Universe.

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 Tories, and the general opinion of
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 their religion, the Pope, and their own
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 case of their fellow-Christians who are
 in distress, who also believe in the
 separation of the Pope, and are capable
 of displaying the same courage and
 energy in a cause as the first and the
 noblest—that of their own independence,
 and of their Protestant country-
 men, against the common oppressor of
 the European.

THE
SPEECH
OF
Mr. GRATTAN,
IN
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
ON THE
CATHOLIC QUESTION,
IN 1805.

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SPRUCH

W. G. RATTAN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

1874

CATHOLIC QUESTION

1874

SPEECH, &c.

MR. GRATTAN rose, he said, to avoid the example of the member who had just sat down, and instead of calumniating either party, to defend both.

The past troubles of Ireland, the rebellion of 1641, and the wars which followed (said the honourable gentleman), I do not wholly forget, but I only remember them to deprecate the example and renounce the animosity. The penal code which went before, and followed those times, I remember also, but only enough to know, that the cause and reasons for that code have totally expired; and as on one side the Protestant should relinquish his animosity on

account of the rebellions, so the Catholics should relinquish their animosity on account of the laws. The question is not stated by the member; it is not whether you will keep in a state of disqualification a few Irish Catholics, but whether you will keep in a state of languor and neutrality a fifth part of the Empire.— Before you impose such a sentence on yourself, you will require better arguments than those which the member has advanced. He has substantially told you, that the Irish Catholic Church, which is more independent than the Catholic Church here, is the worst in Europe; that the Irish Catholics, our own kindred, conforming to our own terms, are the worst of Papists; that the distinction, a distinction made by the law, propounded by ourselves, as essential to the state, between temporal and spiritual power, is a vain discrimination, and that the people of Ireland, to be good Catholics, must be bad subjects; and finally, he has emphatically said, “ that an Irish Catholic never is, never was, or will be a faithful subject

ject to a British Protestant King—they hate all Protestants and all Englishmen.” Thus has he pronounced against his country three curses: eternal war with one another, eternal war with England, and eternal peace with France! So strongly does he inculcate this, that if a Catholic printer were in the time of invasion to publish his speech, that printer might be indicted for treason, as the publisher of a composition administering to the Catholics a stimulative to rise, and advancing the authority of their religion for rebellion. His speech consists of four parts: — 1st, Invective uttered against the religion of the Catholics; 2dly, Invective uttered against the present generation; 3dly, Invective against the past; and 4thly, Invective against the future: here the limits of creation interposed; and stopped the member. It is to defend those different generations, and their religion, I rise; to rescue the Catholics from his attack, and the Protestants from his defence. The civil interference of the Pope, his as-

sumed power of deposition, together with the supposed doctrine that no faith was to be kept with heretics, were the great objections to the claims of the Catholics; to convict them, the learned doctor has gone forth with a sinister zeal to collect his baneful materials; and behold he returns laden with much disputed comment, much doubtful test, much of executive decrees, and of such things as are become obsolete, because useless, and are little attended to, because very dull and very uninteresting, and wherein the learned gentleman may, for that reason, take many little liberties in the way of misquotation, or in the way of suppression; all these, the fruits of his unprofitable industry, he lays before you:—very kindly and liberally he does it! But of this huge and tremendous collection, you must reject a principal part, as having nothing to say to the question; namely, all that matter which belongs to the Court of Rome, as distinct from the Church. 2dly, Of the remnant after that rejection; you must remove every thing that belongs to the church of Rome, which is not doctrinal and which is not

confined

confined to doctrine regarding faith and moral, exclusive of, and unmixed with, any temporal matter whatever. After this correction, you will have reduced this gentleman of the fifteenth century to two miserable canons, the only rewards of his labour, and result of his toil, both passed centuries before the Reformation, and therefore not bearing on the Protestant or the Reformers: the first is a canon excommunicating persons who do not abide by a profession of faith contained in a preceding canon, which notably concludes with the following observation, that virgins and married women may make themselves agreeable to God: now I cannot think such a canon can excite any grave impression or alarm in this House, passed six hundred years ago, three hundred years before the birth of the Reformation, made by lay princes, as well as ecclesiastics, and never acknowledged or noticed in these islands, even in times of their Popery. The other canon, that of Constance, goes to deny the force of a free passport, or safe conduct to heretics, given by temporal princes in bar of the proceedings of the church. With-

out going farther into that canon, 'tis sufficient to say, that it is positively affirmed by the Catholics, that this does not go farther than to assert the power of the church to enquire into heresy, notwithstanding any impediments from lay princes: and there is an authority for that interpretation, and in contradiction to the member's interpretation, not merely above his authority, but any that it is in his studies to produce; I mean that of Grotius, who mentions, that the imputation cast on the Catholics on account of that canon is unfounded. Here I stop, and submit that the member is in the state of a plaintiff, who cannot make out his case, notwithstanding his two canons; that he has failed most egregiously, and has no right to throw the other party on their defence. However the Catholics have gone as far as relates to him gratuitously into their case, and have not availed themselves of the imbecility of their opponents, and they have been enabled to produce on the subject of the above charges, the opinion of six Universities, to whom those charges, in the shape of queries, have been submitted:—

Paris, Louvain, Salamanca, Douay, Valladolid, Alcala. The Universities have all answered, and have, in their answers, not only disclaimed the imputed doctrines, but disclaimed them with abhorrence. The Catholics have not stopped here; they have drawn up a declaration of nine articles, renouncing the imputed doctrines, together with other doctrines, or views objected to them; they have gone farther, they have desired the Protestants to name their own terms of abjuration; the Protestants have done so, and here is the instrument of their compact—it is an oath framed by a Protestant parliament, principally manufactured by the honourable member himself, in which the Irish Catholics not only abjure the imputed doctrine, but are sworn to the State, and to the present establishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and to the present state of Protestant property. This oath has been universally taken, and by this oath, both parties are concluded, the Catholics from resorting to the abjured doctrines, and the Protestant from resorting to the abjured charge; therefore, when the member imputes, as he has done, to the Catholic the principles

principles hereby abjured, is is not the Catholic who breaks faith with him, but it is he who breaks faith with the Catholic. He acts in violation of the instrument he himself formed, and is put down by his own authority. But the Catholics have not only thus obtained a special acquittal from the charges made against them in this debate, they have obtained a general acquittal also.

The most powerful of their opponents, the late Earl of Clare, writes as follows: " They who adhere to the Church of Rome are good Catholics, they who adhere to the Court of Rome are traitors;" and he quotes Lord Somers as his authority, in which he entirely acquiesces and acknowledges their innocence in their adherence to the church of Rome as distinct from the court. A test, such I have already mentioned is formed, abjuring the doctrine of the court of Rome, and reducing their religion to the church of Rome. This test, together with a number of other articles, is reduced to an oath, and this oath is introduced into an act of parliament,

parliament, and this oath is taken universally ; here again are the opponents to the Catholic concluded by their own concessions—by tendering an oath to Catholics, they allow oath to be a test of sincerity ; by framing that oath under the circumstances, they make it a test of pure Catholicism ; and by their own argument, they pronounce pure Catholicism to be innoxious. But the honourable member has gone a little farther than pronounce the innocence of the Catholics ; he has pronounced the mischievous consequences of the laws that proscribe them ; he has said in so many words, that an Irish Catholic never is, and never will be, faithful to a British Protestant King ; he does not say every Catholic, for then he would include the English Catholics and those of Canada ; nor does he say that every Irishman must hate the King, for then he would include every Protestant in Ireland : the cause of the hatred is not then in the religion nor in the soil ; it must be then in the laws, in something which the Protestant does not experience in Ireland, nor the Catholics in any country but in Ireland—that is to say,

say, in the penal code:—that code then, according to him, has made the Catholics enemies to the King. Thus has he acquitted the Catholics and convicted the laws. This is not extraordinary; it is the natural progress of a blind and a great polemic; such characters usually begin with a fatal candour, in the hope of gaining a credit, and then precipitate to a fatal extravagance; and are at once undermined by their candour and exposed by their extravagance.—So with the member:—he hurries on, he knows not where, utters, he cares not what, equally negligent of the grounds of his assertions and their necessary inferences—thus, when he thinks he is establishing his errors, unconsciously and unintentionally he promulgates truth; or rather, in the very tempest of his speech, Providence seems to govern his lips, so that they shall prove false to his purposes, and bear witness to his refutations. Interpret the gentleman literally, what blasphemy has he uttered! he has said, that the Catholic religion, abstracted as it is at present in Ireland from Popery, and reduced as it is to mere Catholicism,

cism, is so inconsistent with the duties of morality and allegiance, as to be a very great evil. Now, that religion is the Christianity of two-thirds of all Christendom; it follows then, according to the learned doctor, that the Christian religion is in general a curse: he has added that his own countrymen are not only depraved by religion, but rendered perverse by nativity; that is to say, according to him, blasted by their Creator, and damned by their Redeemer. In order, therefore, to restore the member to the character of a Christian, we must renounce him as an advocate, and acknowledge that he has acquitted the Catholics whom he meant to condemn, and convicted the laws which he meant to defend. But though the truth may be eviscerated from the whole of the member's statement, it is not to be discerned in the particular parts: and therefore it is not sufficient to refute his arguments; it is necessary to controvert the parts of it—The Catholics of Ireland, he says, hate the Protestants, hate the English, and hate the King. I must protest against the truth of this position; the laws, violent as they were,

mitigated

mitigated as for the last seventeen years they have been, the people better than the laws, never could have produced that mischief; against such a position I appeal to the conscious persuasion of every Irishman; we will put it to an issue: the present chief governor of Ireland* is both an Englishman and the representative of English government. I will ask the honourable gentleman whether the Irish hate him? If I could believe this position, what could I think of the Protestant ascendancy, and what must I think of the British connexion and government, who have been for six hundred years in possession of the country, with no other effect, according to this logic, than to make its inhabitants abhor you and your generation? But this position contains something more than a departure from fact: it says, "strike, France! strike, Spain! the great body of the Irish are with you;" it does much more, it attempts to give them a provocation, it teaches you to hate them, and them to think so, and thus falshood takes its chance of generating into a fatal and

* Lord Hardwicke.

treasonable truth. The honourable gentleman having misrepresented the present generation, misstates the conduct of their ancestors, and sets forth the past rebellions as proceeding entirely from religion. I will follow him to those rebellions, and shew beyond his power of contradiction, that religion was not, and that proscription was, the leading cause of those rebellions. The rebellion of 41, or let me be controverted by any historian of authority, did not proceed from religion: it did proceed from the extermination of the inhabitants of eight counties in Ulster, and from the foreign and bigoted education of the Catholic clergy, and not from religion. The rebellion of the Pale, for it was totally distinct in period and cause from the other, did not proceed from religion; but from the loss of the graces,—they resembled your petition of right, except that they embraced articles for the security of property, disarmament of the Catholics, expulsion of them in that disarmed state from Dublin;—many other causes, order for the execution of certain priests; you will not forget there was an order to banish their priests in

James

James the First's time, and to shut up their chapels in Charles the First's; these were the causes. There was another cause—you were in rebellion, Scotland was in rebellion. There was still another cause: the Irish government were in rebellion; they had taken their part with the republicans, and wished to draw into treason the Irish freeholders; that, with the forfeiture of another's, rebellion might supply their own. I go back with concern to these times, I see much blood, no glory; but I have the consolation to find, that the causes were not lodged in the religion or the soil, and that all of them, but the proscriptive cause, have vanished. I follow the member to another rebellion, which should properly be called a civil war, not a rebellion: it proceeded from a combination of causes which exist no longer; and one of those causes was the abdicating King at the head of the Catholics; and another cause was the violent proscription carried on against the Catholics by the opposite and then prevailing party: these causes are now no more; or will the member say there is now an abdicating Prince,

or now a Popish plot, or now a Pretender? There are causes most certainly sufficient to alarm you, but very different, and such as can only be combated by a conviction, that as destinies are now disposed of, it is not the power of the Catholics which can destroy, or the exclusion of the Catholics that can save you. The conclusions I draw from the history above alluded to, are very different from that drawn by the member, and far more healing; conclusions to shew the evils arose from foreign connexions on one side, and from domestic proscription on the other. If all the blood shed on those occasions, if the many fights in the first, and the signal battles in the second period, and the consequence of those battles to the defeated and the triumphant, to the slave that fled, and the slave that followed, shall teach our country the wisdom of conciliation, I congratulate her on those deluges of blood; if not, I submit, and lament her fate, and deplore her understanding, which would render not only the blessings of Providence, but its visitations fruitless, and transmit

the curse of our fathers, as the inheritance of our children.

The learned gentleman proceeds to misstate a period of one hundred years; namely, the century that followed the Revolution, and this he makes a period of open or concealed rebellions. The sources of his darkness and misinformation are to be found in history and revelation: of his charges against that period he brings no proof; none of those on the same side with him can bring any; they heard from such a one who heard from such a one: I neither believe them nor such a one; and I desire so many generations may not be convicted on evidence that would not be admitted against the vilest caitiff, and that against evidence by which that vilest caitiff would be acquitted—against the authority of four acts of parliament; the act of 1778, which declares their loyalty for a long series of years, that of 82, that of 92, that of 93, and further,—against the declared sense of government, who in the year 62, proposed to raise
four

four Catholic regiments, because the Catholics had proved their allegiance,—against the authority of the then Irish Primate who supported that measure; and in his speech on that subject assigns, as his reason, that after his perusal of Mr. Murray's papers, nothing appeared against the Irish Catholics of any connexion whatsoever with the rebellion of that period. The member proceeds to the rebellion of 98, and this he charges to the Catholics; and against his charge I appeal to the Report of the committee of the Irish House of Commons in 97, in which it sets forth the rebel muster, containing 99000 northerns enrolled in rebellion, and all the northern counties organized. At the time in which the committee of the House of Commons states the rebellion of the north, the dispatches of government acknowledged the allegiance of the south; to those dispatches I appeal, written at the time of Hoche's projected invasion, and applauding the attachment and loyalty of the southern counties and their exertions to assist the army on its march to Cork, to oppose the landing of the French. If you ask how the re-

bellion spread and involved the Catholics, I will answer, and tell you, that as long as the proscriptive system continues, there will be in our country a staminal weakness, rendering the distempers to which society is obnoxious, not only dangerous, but deadly; every epidemic disease will bring the chronic distemper into action; it is the grape stone in the hand of Death which strikes with the force of a thunder-bolt. If you have any apprehension on this account, the error is to be found in yourselves, in human policy, not in religion; in the fallibility of man, not of God. If you wish to strip rebellion of its hopes, France of her expectations, reform that policy; you will gain a victory over the enemy, when you gain a conquest over yourselves. But I will for a moment accede to the member's statement against facts and history: What is his inference?—During one hundred years of the proscriptive system, the state has been in imminent danger; therefore, adds he, continue the system, here is the regimen under which you have declined—persevere! But the member proceeds to observe, that you cannot hope to re-
concile

concile whom you cannot hope to satisfy, and he instances the repeal of the penal code. I deny the instances; the repeal in 78 and 82 did reconcile and did satisfy; accordingly you will find, that the Irish Catholics in 79 and 80; 81 and 82, were active and unanimous to repel the invasion threatened at that time, when the French rode in the channel, and Ireland was left to the care of less than 6,000 regulars, and was only defended from invasion by the spirit and loyalty of the Catholics, in harmony and in arms with their Protestant brethren. The repeal of a principal part of the penal code in 93, did not reconcile and did not satisfy; it was, because the Irish government of that time was an enemy to the repeal and to the Catholics, and prevented the good effects of that measure. That government, in the summer of 92, had sent instructions, (I know the fact to be so), to the grand juries, to enter into resolutions against the claims of the Catholics. Their leading minister opposed himself at one of the county meetings, and took a memorable post of hostility and publicity. When the petition of the Catholics was recom-

mended in the King's speech in 93, the Irish minister answered the King, and with unmeasured severity attacked the petitioners. When the bill introduced in consequence of his Majesty's recommendation was in progress, the same minister, with as unmeasured severity attacked the bill, and repeated his severity against the Catholics. When the same bill of reconciliation, in consequence of the recommendation and reference of the petition was in its passage, the Irish government attempted to hang the leading men among the petitioners, and accordingly Mr. Bird and Mr. Hamil were, by their orders, indicted for a capital offence. I think it was Defenderism ; and so little ground was there for the charge, that those men were triumphantly acquitted, and the witnesses of the crown so flagrantly perjured, that the judge, I have heard, recommended a prosecution. These were the causes why the repeal of 93 did not satisfy ; and in addition to these, because the Irish government took care that the Catholics should receive no benefit ; therefrom, opposing these, with their known partizans and dependants

pendants in the corporation of Dublin, when they sought for the freedom of the city ; seldom giving any office, (there are very few instances in which they got any.) I refer to the speeches delivered and published at the time by the ministers and servants of the Irish government, and persisted in, and delivered since, and there you will see an attack on all the proceedings of the Irish from the time of their address for free trade, without discrimination or moderation ; there you will see the Irish ministry engaged in a wretched squabble with the Catholic committee, and that Catholic committee replying on that ministry, and degrading it more than it had degraded itself ; and you will further perceive the members of that ministry urging their charges against the members of that committee, to disqualify other Catholics who were not of the committee, but opposed it ; so that by their measures against the one part of the Catholics, and their invective against the other, they took care to alienate, as far as in them lay, the whole body. The fact is, the project of conciliation in 93, recommended in the speech from the

throne, was defeated by the Irish cabinet, which was at that time on that subject in opposition ; and being incensed at the British cabinet for the countenance afforded to the Catholics, punished the latter, and sowed those seeds which afterwards, in conjunction with other causes, produced the rebellion.

I leave the member, and proceed to discuss the differences now remaining that discriminate his Majesty's subjects of the Protestant and Catholic persuasion. Before we consider how far we differ, it is necessary to examine how far we agree; we acknowledge the same God, the same Redeemer, the same consequences of redemption, the same Bible, and the same Testament. Agreeing in this we cannot, as far as respects religion, quarrel about the remainder ; because their merits, as Christians, must, in our opinion, outweigh their demerits, as Catholics, and reduce our religious distinctions to a difference about the Eucharist, the Mass, and the Virgin Mary ; matters which may form a difference of opinion, but not a division

vision

vision of interests. The infidel, under these circumstances, would consider us as the same religionists, just as the French would consider us, and cut us down as the same community. See whether we are not agreed a little farther, and united by statute as well as religion: the preambles of three acts declare the Catholics to be loyal subjects; the act of 78 declares that they have been so for a series of years; the same act declares that they should be admitted into the blessings of the constitution: the act of 93 goes farther, and admits them into a participation of those blessings;—thus is the principle of indentification established by the law of the land, and thus are the Catholics, by that law, proclaimed to be innocent, and the calumniators of the Catholics proclaimed to be guilty. Let us consider their situation under these laws, professedly and in principle admitted to every thing except seats in parliament, and certain offices of state; they are in fact excluded from every thing, under the circumstances of paying for every thing: the few places they enjoy, make no exception—they pay their proportion to the
 navy,

navy, and contribute one-third to its numbers, and have not a commission ; they contribute to the expences of the army, and to one-third of its numbers, and have in very few instances a commission ; and shall I now be asked, how are the Catholics affected by this ; or be told that the Catholic body would not be served by the removal of this ? How would the Protestant body be affected, if only removed from the state and the parliament ? In addition to this, I am to add the many minor injuries done to the Catholics, in ways that must be felt, and cannot be calculated ; the inestimable injury done to the Catholic mind, by precluding it from the objects of ambition, and to the Catholic spirit, by exposing it to the taunts and insults, (you cannot be at a loss for instances) such as are uttered by the vilest of the Protestants against the first of the Catholics. I am to add the mischief done to the morals of the country, by setting up a false standard of merit ; by which men, without religion, moral or public integrity, shall obtain, by an abhorrence of their fellow subjects, credit and consequence, and acquire an impunity for
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selling the whole community, because they detest a part of it. You see it is impossible for any one part of the society to afflict the other, without paying the penalty, and feeling the consequences of its own policy in the re-action of its own bad passions on itself. I am to add the mischief done to the peace of the country, when the spirit of religious discord descends to the lower order of the people, and the holiday becomes a riot; and when the petty magistrate turns chapman and dealer in politics, turns theologian and robber, makes for himself a situation in the country, formed out of the monstrous lies he tells of his Catholic neighbours, fabricates false panics of insurrection and invasion—then walks forth the man of blood; his creditors tremble; and atrocities, which he dares not commit in his own name, are perpetrated for the honor of his King, and in the name of his Maker. I have heard of the incivilization of Ireland, too much has been said on that subject: I deny the fact: a country exporting above five millions, even at your official value, near or above half a million of corn, three millions of
linen,

linen, paying eight millions to the state, cannot be barbarous; a nation connected with you for six hundred years!—what do you say? Can it be barbarous? If France should say so, you should contradict her, because it is not on Ireland, but on you the reflection must fall; but if any thing however delays the perfect and extensive civilization of Ireland, it is principally her religious animosity; examine all the causes of human misery, the tragic machinery of the globe, and the instruments of civil rage and domestic murder, and you find no demon is like it, because it privileges all the rest, and amalgamates with infidelity, as well as murder; and conscience, which restrains other vices, becomes a prompter here. To restrain this waste, and this conquest exercised over your understanding, your morals, and your fortune, my honourable friend makes his motion.*—Come; let us hear the objections. The Catholics, they say, should not have political power. Why, they have it already;

* The present lord lieutenant of Ireland has done much to reconcile, but his mild integrity and good sense must be aided by parliament.

they got it when you gave them landed property, and they got it when you gave them the elective franchise : “ Be it enacted that the Catholics shall be capable of holding all offices, (civil and military except,)” and then the act excludes a certain numeration.

This is the act of 93—and is not this political power allowed by act of parliament? So that the objection goes not so much against the petition as against the law, and the law is the answer to it. The reasons they give for objecting to the law are, 1st. That the Catholics do not acknowledge the King to be the head of their church. To require that a person of the Catholic faith should acknowledge a person of another religion, who makes no very encouraging declarations towards them, to be the head of the Catholic church, is going very far ; but to make the with-holding such acknowledgment, the test of disaffection, is going much farther ; farther than reason, and farther than the law, which does not require such test, but is satisfied with a negative oath, and therefore the Presbyterian

terian who makes no such acknowledgment may sit in parliament: so that here the objector is answered again by the law, and the reason he gives in opposition to the law, shows that the legislature is wiser than he is. The reason alleged is, that he who allows his Majesty to be the head of his church has more allegiance, because he acknowledges the King in more capacities; according to this, the Turk has more allegiance than either, for he acknowledges the Grand Seignior in all capacities; and the Englishman has less allegiance than any other subject in Europe, because, whereas other European subjects acknowledge their King in a legislative as well as an executive capacity, the English acknowledge their King in the latter capacity only. But such men know not how to estimate allegiance, which is not measured by the powers which you allow, but by the privileges which you keep: thus your allegiance is of an higher order, because it is rendered—for the proud circumstances belonging to an Englishman—to the peer who has his rank, the commoner who has his privileges, and the peasant
 who

who has Magna Charta. The Catholic too, he has an interest in his allegiance—encrease that interest, that is, encrease this privilege, you encrease the force of the obligation, and with it your own security. But here again the objector interposes, and alleges that the Catholic does not only not acknowledge the King to be the head of his church, but acknowledges a foreign power—Whom? I cannot find him. There was indeed a power which you set up in the last war and guarded with your troops—is that the memory at which gentlemen tremble? A sort of president or chair, in whose name the business of the Catholic church is conducted, for whom no Catholic would fight, and against whom the Irish Catholics would fight, if he came into their country at the head of an invading army—they have said so. You will recollect how little you yourselves feared that name, when you encompassed and preserved it, at the very time of the Irish rebellion. And now do gentlemen set it up and bring it back again into the world as a principle to influence the action of the Irish? But then I here receive an answer to this,

that

that Bonaparte has gotten possession of the power and person of the Pope. What power? He had no power before his captivity, and therefore he became a captive; he has not found his power in his captivity; or will you say that he could now disband an Austrian army or an Irish army, or that if he were to issue out his excommunications, your seamen and soldiers would desert? Such the power of the Pope, such your fear of it, and such is the force of their argument! What is the policy of it? Bonaparte has gotten the Pope, give him the Catholics. But here the objector interposes again, and tells us, it is in vain to look for harmony with the Catholics, inasmuch as they deliver us, the Protestants, to damnation; gravely they say this, soberly they say this! and according to this you must not only repeal your laws of toleration, but you must disband part of your army and your navy, and disqualify your electors. The Catholic who hears this produces a Protestant creed, which does the same thing, and damns his sect likewise; the Infidel, who listens, agrees with both, and triumphs, and suggests that it
were

were better not to cast off your people, but to shake off your religion. So Volney makes all sects contend, and all conquer, and religion the common victim. The truth is, exclusive salvation was the common phrensy of all sects, and is the religion of none, and is now not only rejected by all, but laughed at. So, burning one another, as well as damning one another; you can produce instances, they can produce instances: it was the habit of the early Christians to anathematize all sects but their own. No religion can stand, if men, without regard to their God, and with regard only to controversy, shall rake out of the rubbish of antiquity the obsolete and quaint follies of the sectarians, and affront the majesty of the Almighty, with the impudent catalogue of their devices; and it is a strong argument against the proscriptive system, that it helps to continue this shocking contest; theologian against theologian, polemic against polemic, until the two madmen defame their common parent, and expose their common religion. With arguments such as these it is urged, that the laws were in error which gave the Catholic

political power; and it is further added, that he will use that political power to destroy the church. I do not think they have now said, He will destroy the present state of property—bigotry has retired from that post, and has found out at last that the Catholics cannot repeal the act of settlement in Ireland, by which the property of the country was ascertained, until they become the parliament, nor become the parliament, till they get the landed property of the country; and that when they get that property, that they will not pass an act to set aside their titles. Further, it is now understood that the Protestant title is by time; that there are few old Catholic proprietors, a multitude of new ones; that the Catholic tenantry hold under Protestant title, and therefore that there is, in support of the present state of property in Ireland, not only the strength of the Protestant interest, but the physical force of the Catholics; therefore the objectors have judiciously retired from that ground, and now object to Catholic power, as certain to destroy the Protestant church. How? They must do it by act of legislation, or by act of force;

force. By act of legislation they cannot, and by force they will not: they will not by act of force; because the measures proposed, which do not go to encrease that force, do go decisively to remove the animosity. Or, will you say, when you give them every temporal motive to allegiance, they will become rebels; that when indeed they had rights of religion, rights of property, rights of election, they were loyal; but when you gratified their ambition likewise, then they became disaffected, and ready to sacrifice all their temporal rights and political gratifications. In order to do what? To get a larger income for their clergy; that is, that their bishops should drink more claret, and wear finer clothes: and with whose assistance should they do this? With the aid of the French, who starve their clergy. The ordinary principles of action, the human motives that direct other men, according to these reasoners, are not to be found in the Catholic; nature is in him reversed; he is not influenced by the love of family, of property, of privilege, of power, or any human passions, according to his antagonists, no more than his antagonists are influenced by human

reason ; and therefore it is that these reasoners deal mostly in the prophetic strain, a prophet's fury and his blindness, much zeal, and no religion. I would ask then, what authority have they for introducing the church as an obstacle to the advantages of the state ? Is it political, or is it moral, to deprive the Catholics of the franchises of the constitution, because they contribute to the church, lest on obtaining those franchises they should pass laws withholding that contribution ; as if you had any right to make that supposition, or any right to insist on that perilous monopoly which should exclude them at once from church and state, that they might pay for both without compensation ? The great preachers of our capital have not said so. Mr. Dunn, that meek spirit of the gospel, he has not said so ; Mr. Douglass, in his strain of piety, morals, and eloquence, he has not said so ; nor the great luminary * himself ; he, who has wrung from his own breast, as it were, near 60,000, by preaching for public charities, and has stopped the mouth of hunger with its own

* Dr. Kirwan.

bread, *he* has not said so. I ask not what politicians may instil, and may whisper, but what have the laborious clergymen preached and practised ?

But the revolution, it seems, is an eternal bar ; they find the principles of slavery in the revolution, as they have found those of darkness in the revelation. If they mean to measure the privileges of the empire by the model existing at the revolution, they must impose on Ireland eternal proscription ; for at that time she was deprived of the rights of trade and constitution, and the Catholics of all rights whatsoever ; and they must impose on the empire two opposite principles of action, the free system for England, and the proscriptive principle for the rest ; they are then to make Ireland fight for British liberty and Irish exclusion ; their argument is therefore not only a wicked wish, but a vain one ; nor is this the practice of other countries---those countries do not require the religion of the public officer to be the religion of the state, their practice has been notoriously otherwise : they, who say the contrary, labour under a glaring error ; nor will

you be able to encounter France, and the other nations of Europe, if they shall avail themselves of the talents of all their people, and you will oppose them by only a part of yours ; and while you deprive yourself of the full strength of those talents, expose yourself to their animosity. It follows then, whether you look to the principles of liberty, or empire, that you cannot make the proscriptive system, existing at the revolution, the measure of the other parts of your empire ; you must then make the principles of the revolution that measure : What are those principles ? Civil and religious liberty ; they existed at that time in full force for you, they existed as seminal principles for us, they were extended to the Protestant part of Ireland a century after, they remain now to be extended to the Catholics ; then will your revolution be completed, not overthrown ; then will you extend the principles of your empire on those of your constitution, and have secured an uniformity of action, by creating an identity of interest ; thus will you have simplified the imperial and constitutional motions to one and the same principle of action,

action, moving you in your home, and in your imperial orbit, informing the body of your laws, and vivifying the mass of your empire. The petition of the county of Oxford states, that the Catholics have ever been enemies to freedom, just as the controvertialists have said the Catholics must be enemies to the King; the revolution, from whose benefits you are to exclude the Catholics, was a model formed and moulded by Catholics; the declaration of right being almost entirely declaratory of rights and privileges secured by your Catholic ancestors; one of your great merits at the revolution was not to have exceeded that model; but on the contrary, you restrained popular victory, and restored establishments, and with them kindled a modest spirit which has outlasted the French conflagration; a vital heat which then cheered you, which now should cheer the Catholic, and giving light and life to both, I hope will be eternal. The great objects, church, state, and property, I adopt with the controversialist, and beg to rescue them from his wisdom; to give them, for their support, the physical force of the

Catholic body, inasmuch as our danger does not arise from the possible abuse of his constitutional power, but from the possible abuse of his physical strength to obtain that constitutional power. In all this debate, you will observe, we argue as if we had but one enemy, the *Catholic*, and we forget the French; and here, what I said to the Irish parliament, on the Catholic question, I will repeat to you: I said to them, "the post you take, is unfavourable, independency of the British parliament, exclusion of the Irish Catholics, a post to be kept against the power of one country, and the freedom of the other."

I now say to you, the post you would take is unfavourable; a position that would not keep France in check but Ireland in thralldom, to be held against the power of one country and the freedom of the other. There are three systems for Ireland; one such as Primate Boulter has disclosed, a system to set the people at variance, on account of religion, that the government might be strong and the country weak; a system, such a one as prevailed when

I broke

I broke her chain, which made the minister too strong for the constitution, and the country too weak for the enemy ; a system, which one of its advocates has described, when he said the Protestants of Ireland were a garrison in an enemy's country, and which another gentleman has described, when he considered Ireland as a *caput mortuum* : this system has failed, it ought to have failed ; it was a party government, and a party God.

There is another, namely, extermination ; that will not do ; the extermination of three millions of men would be no easy task in execution, no very charitable measure in conception. The justices of 1641 had dreamed of it, Cromwell had attempted it, and Harrington had talked of it. I hold the extermination of the people, and even of their hierarchy, to be such an experiment as will not be proposed by any gentleman who is perfectly in his senses ; extermination will then not do :—what is left ? the partial adoption of the Catholics has failed, the eradication of the Catholics cannot be attempted,

attempted, the absolute incorporation remains alone; there is no other: or did you think it necessary to unite with the Irish parliament, and do you hesitate to identify with the people? See whether you can conduct your empire on any other principle.—The better to illustrate this, and in order to ascertain the principles of your empire, survey its comprehension, computing your West Indies and your Eastern Dominions. England has now, with all deference to her moderation, a very great proportion of the globe. On what principle will she govern that proportion? On the principles on which Providence governs that and the remainder. When you make your dominions commensurate with a great portion of her works, you should make your laws analagous to her dispensations. As there is no such thing as exclusive Providence; so neither, considering the extent of your empire, should there be such a thing as an exclusive empire, but such an one as accommodates to peculiar habits, religious prejudices, preposessions, &c. &c. You do not, in your dispatches to your generals, send the thirty-

nine

nine articles ; you know the bigot and conqueror are incompatible, Lewis XIV. found it so ; you know that no nation is long indulged in the exercise of the two qualities, bigotry to proscribe at home, ambition to disturb abroad : such was your opinion when you established popery in Canada—I do not speak of Corsica :—such your opinion when you recruited for the foot in Ireland. It was in the American war this practice began ; then you found that the principle of exclusive empire would not answer, and that her test was not who should say her prayers, but who should fight her battles. On the same principle, the Irish militia, which must be, in a great proportion, Catholic, stands ; and on the same principle the Irish yeomanry, who must be, in a far more considerable proportion, Catholic, stands ; and on the same principle, you have recruited for the navy in Ireland, and have committed your sea thunder-bolt to Catholic hands. Suppose, in Egypt, the general had ordered the Catholics to go out of the ranks ; or if in one of our sea-fights, the admiral had ordered all the Catholics on shore, what

what had been the consequence? It is an argument against the proscriptive system; that if adopted practically in navy or army, the navy and army, and empire, would evaporate: and shall we now proclaim these men, or hold such language as the member; language which, if he held on the day of battle, he must be shot; language for which, if a Catholic, he must be hanged; such as you despised in the case of Corsica and of Canada, in the choice of your allies, in the recruiting your army and your navy, whenever your convenience, whenever your ambition, whenever your interest required: or let us turn from the magnitude of your empire to the magnitude of its danger, and you will observe, that whereas Europe was heretofore divided in many small nations of various religions, making part of their civil policy, and with alliances, influenced in some degree, and directed by those religious distinctions, where civil and religious freedom were supposed to be drawn up on one side, and on the other, popery and arbitrary power; so now the globe has been divided anew—England and France. You have taken a first situation

tuation among mankind, you are of course precluded from a second; Austria may have a second situation, Prussia may have a second, but England seems to have linked her being to her glory, and when she ceases to be of the first, she is nothing. According to this supposition, and it is a supposition which I do not frame, but find in your country, the day may not be very remote, when you will have to fight for being, and for what you value more than being, the ancient renown of your island; you have said it yourselves, and you have added, that Ireland is your vulnerable part: why vulnerable? vulnerable because you have misgoverned her:—it may then happen, that on Irish ground, and by an Irish hand, the destinies of this ancient monarchy, called Great Britain, may be decided. Accordingly you have voted your army, but you have forgot to vote your people; you must vote their passions likewise:—their horrors at the French proceedings will do much; but it is miserable to rely on the crimes of your enemies, always; on your own wisdom, never—besides, those horrors

did

did not prevent Prussia from leaving your alliance, nor Austria from making peace, nor the United Irishmen from making war. Loyalty will do much ; but you require more, patience under taxes, such as are encreased far beyond what we have been accustomed to, from one million and a half to eight million, nor patience only, but ardour. The strong qualities, not such as the scolding dialect of certain gentlemen would excite ; a spirit, that in the case of an invasion, will not sit as a spy on the doubt of the day, and calculate ; but though the first battle should be unsuccessful, would come on with a desperate fidelity, and embody with the destinies of England. It is a wretched thing to ask how would they act in such a case. What, after a connexion of six hundred years, to thank your admiral for your safety, or the wind, or any thing but your own wisdom : and therefore the question is not whether the Catholics shall get so many seats, but whether you shall get so many millions ; in such a case, you live all people : what is it that constitutes the strength and health of England, but this

sort

sort of vitality, that her privileges, like her money, circulate every where, and centre nowhere; this it was which equality would have given, but did not give France; this it was which the plain sense of your ancestors, without equality, did give the English; a something, which limited her Kings, drove her enemies, and made a handful of men fill the world with their name. Will you, in your Union with Ireland, withhold the regimen which has made you strong, and continue the regimen which has made her feeble? You will further recollect, that you have invited her to your patrimony, and hitherto you have given her taxes, and an additional debt; I believe it is of twenty-six millions: the other part of your patrimony, I should be glad to see that. Talk plainly and honestly to the Irish; "it is true your taxes are encreased, and your debts multiplied—but here are our privileges, great burthens, and great privileges—this is the patrimony of England, and with this does she assess, recruit, inspire, consolidate." But the Protestant ascendancy, it is said, alone can keep the country; namely,

namely, the gentry, clergy, and nobility, against the French, and without the people: it may be so; but in 1641, above ten thousand troops were sent from England to assist that party; in 89, twenty-three regiments were raised in England to assist them; in 98, the English militia were sent over to assist them; what can be done by spirit will be done by them: but would the City of London, on such assurances, risque a guinea? The parliament of Ireland did risque every thing, and are now nothing; and in their extinction left this instruction not to their posterity, for they have none, but to you, who come in the place of their posterity,—not to depend on a sect of religion, nor trust the final issue of your fortunes to any thing less than the whole of your people.

The parliament of Ireland—of that assembly I have a parental recollection. I sat by her cradle,—I followed her hearse. In fourteen years she acquired for Ireland, what you did not acquire for England in a century—freedom of trade, independency of the legislature, in-
dependency

dependency of the judges, restoration of the final judicature, repeal of a perpetual mutiny bill, habeas corpus act—a great work ! You will exceed it, and I shall rejoice. I call my countrymen to witness, if in that business I compromised the claims of my country, or temporized with the power of England ; but there was one thing which baffled the effort of the patriot, and defeated the wisdom of the senate—it was the folly of the theologian. When the parliament of Ireland rejected the Catholic petition, and assented to the calumnies then uttered against the Catholic body—on that day she voted the Union ; if you should adopt a similar conduct, on that day you will vote the separation. Many good and pious reasons you may give ; many good and pious reasons she gave, and she lies *there* with her many good and her pious reasons. That the parliament of Ireland should have entertained prejudices, I am not astonished ; but that you, that you, who have as individuals and as conquerors, visited a great part of the globe, and have seen men in all their modifications, and Providence

in all her ways—that you, now, at this time of day, should throw up dykes against the Pope, and barriers against the Catholics, instead of uniting with that Catholic to throw up barriers against the French,—this surprises. And in addition to this, that you should have set up the Pope in Italy, to tremble at him in Ireland; and further, that you should have professed to have placed yourself at the head of a Christian, not a Protestant league, to defend the civil and religious liberty of Europe, and should deprive of their civil liberty one-fifth of yourselves, on account of their religion—this surprises me: and also that you should prefer to buy allies by subsidies, rather than fellow-subjects by privileges; and that you should now stand, drawn out as it were in battalion, 16,000,000 against 36,000,000, and should at the same time paralyze a fifth of your own numbers, by excluding them from some of the principal benefits of your constitution, at the very time you say all your numbers are inadequate, unless inspired by those very privileges. As I recommend to you to give the privileges, so I

should

should recommend the Catholics to wait cheerfully and dutifully. The temper with which they bear the privation of power and privilege, is evidence of their qualification; they will recollect the strength of their case, which sets them above impatience; they will recollect the growth of their case from the time it was first agitated to the present moment, and in that growth perceive the perishable nature of the objections, and the immortal quality of the principle they contend for. They will further recollect what they have gotten already—rights of religion, rights of property; and above all, the elective franchise, which is in itself the seminal principle of every thing else. With a vessel so laden, they will be too wise to leave the harbour, and trust the fallacy of any wind: nothing can prevent the ultimate success of the Catholics but intemperance; for this they will be too wise: the charges uttered against them they will answer by their allegiance.—So should I speak to the Catholics. To the Protestant I would say—you have gotten the land and powers of the country, and it now remains to

make those acquisitions eternal. Do not you see, according to the present state and temper of England and France, that your country may ultimately be the seat of war? Do not you see, that your children must stand in the front of the battle, with uncertainty and treachery in the rear of it? If, then, by ten or twelve seats in Parliament given to Catholics, you could prevent such a day, would not the compromise be every thing? What is your wretched monopoly—what, the shadow of your present, the memory of your past power, compared to the safety of your families, the security of your estates, and the solid peace and repose of your Island? Besides, you have an account to settle with the Empire. Might not the Empire accost you thus?—"For one hundred years you have been in possession of the country, and very loyally have you taken to yourselves the power and profit thereof! I am now to receive at your hands the fruits of all this; and the unanimous support of your people—Where is it, when I am beset with enemies, and in my day of trial?" Let the Protestant ascendancy answer
that

that question, for I cannot. Above twenty millions have been wasted on your shocking contest; and a great proportion of troops of the line locked up in your island, that you may enjoy the ascendancy of the country, and the Empire not receive the strength of it. Such a system cannot last; your destinies must be changed and exalted; the Catholic no longer your inferior, nor you inferior to every one, save only the Catholic; both must be free, and both must fight the enemy, and not one another. Thus the sects of religion renouncing, the one all foreign connexion, and the other all domestic proscription, shall form a strong country; and thus the two islands renouncing all national prejudices, shall form a strong Empire—a phalanx in the West to check, perhaps ultimately to confound the ambition of the enemy. I know the ground on which I stand, and the truths which I utter, and I appeal to the objections you urge against me, to the spirit of your own religion, and to the genius of your own revolution; and I consent to have the principle which I maintain tried by any test; and equally sound, I contend, it will

be found, whether you apply it to Constitution where it is freedom, or to Empire where it is strength, or to Religion where it is light.

Turn to the opposite principle, proscription and discord—it has made in Ireland not only war, but even peace calamitous : witness the one that followed the victories of King William—to the Catholics a sad servitude, to the Protestants a drunken triumph, and to both a peace without trade and without Constitution. You have seen, in 1798, rebellion break out again; the enemy mustering her expeditions, in consequence of the state of Ireland; twenty millions lost, one farthing of which did not tell in Empire; and blood barbarously, boyishly, and most ingloriously expended. These things are in your recollection: one of the causes of these things, whether efficient or instrumental, or aggravating, the proscriptive system I mean, you may now remove; it is a great work!—or has ambition not enlarged your mind, or only enlarged the sphere of its action? What the best men in Ireland wished to do, but could not do,

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the patriot courtier and the patriot oppositionist, you may accomplish. What Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Langrishe, men who had no views of popularity or interest, or any but the public good; what Mr. Daly, Mr. Burgh, men whom I shall not pronounce to be dead, if their genius live in this measure; what Mr. Forbes; every man that loved Ireland; what Lord Pery, the wisest man Ireland ever produced; what Mr. Hutchinson, an able, accomplished, and enlightened servant of the Crown; what Lord Charlemont, superior to his early prejudices, bending under years and experience, and public affection; what that dying nobleman; what our Burke; what the most profound divines, Doctor Newcome, for instance, our late primate, his mitre stood in the front of that measure; what these men supported; and against whom? Against men who had no opinion at that time on the subject, except that which the minister ordered—or men, whose opinions were so extravagant, that even bigotry must blush for them; and yet those men had not before them considerations which should make you wise—that the Pope has eva-

porated, and that France has covered the best part of Europe. That terrible sight is now before you; it is a gulph that has swallowed up a great portion of your treasure; it now yawns for your being. Were it not wise, therefore, to come to a good understanding with the Irish now? It will be miserable, if any thing untoward should happen hereafter, to say that we did not foresee this danger: against other dangers, against the Pope, we were impregnable. But if instead of guarding against dangers which are not, we should provide against dangers which are, the remedy is in your hands—the franchises of the Constitution. Your ancestors were nursed in that cradle, the ancestors of the petitioners were less fortunate, the posterity of both born to new and strange dangers; let them agree to renounce jealousies and proscriptions, in order to oppose what, without that agreement, will overpower both. Half Europe is in battalion against us, and we are damning one another on account of mysteries, when we should form against the enemy, and march.

THE
SPEECH

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD HUTCHINSON, K.B. &c.

IN

THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

ON THE

CATHOLIC QUESTION,

IN 1805.

SPEECH

LORD ALGERNON RUSSELL

IN PARLIAMENT

ON THE 10TH OF MARCH

SPEECH, &c.

LORD HUTCHINSON.—In the course of this debate, the Catholic hierarchy, the priests, the Catholic religion, have been treated with the most unqualified censure, and with an asperity which I little expected to find in this enlightened assembly. It is one of the misfortunes of the Catholic cause, that composing as they do the great mass of the indigent population of Ireland, they are liable to every misrepresentation; the crime of the individual becomes the offence of the sect; the highest man in the community is made answerable for the conduct of the lowest; the religion itself is censured for the commission of those very acts which it reprobates and condemns.

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Many allusions have been made to the late Rebellion: whatever that rebellion might have been, it certainly was not in its origin a Catholic war—the principal leaders were not Catholics, whose object it was to depress one religion, in order to elevate another. On the contrary, they aimed to destroy every thing that had been established, every thing that had been held sacred. They declared themselves to be alike enemies to the purity of the Protestant worship, and to what they called the superstition of the Catholic faith: their intention was to extinguish the Monarchy; to put an end to the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, and in their room to erect a Republic without a King, a Priest, or a Noble. The leaders of that Rebellion were certainly too able not to have taken advantage of any circumstance which might have led, in the most remote degree, to weaken the government, and to render their cause triumphant. They consequently appealed to every bad passion, to every malignant feeling of the human heart. It is impossible that any contest can take place in Ireland, into which the

bitterness

bitterness and poison of religious and sectarian prejudices will not enter : all men who entertain views inimical to the public peace, would naturally seize every occasion to encrease those dissensions. It is to be lamented, that these arts sometimes operated on the minds of the low, ignorant, and vulgar part of the Catholic community ; but one cannot be at all surprised, when we reflect, that the Protestant, though generally of a higher class, and much better educated and informed, was too often the dupe of these artifices, and suffered his mind to be biassed, his understanding controlled, and his generous feelings warped by the existence of those very prejudices of which he so loudly complained.

It is impossible to pass over in silence many things which have fallen from Noble Lords in this debate, without an endeavour to rescue the character of my country, and my countrymen, from aspersions which, had they been uttered in any other place, I should not have hesitated to have called most unfounded calumnies,

nies. As long as there was a resident Parliament in Ireland, it was the ignoble policy, the wretched practice of the representatives of the people to libel and malign their constituents. I am sorry to see such conduct imitated here. It was the strongest argument in favor of the Union, that an appeal was made from the passions and prejudices of a little country to the temper, the moderation, the cool and deliberate wisdom of a great nation. Miserable indeed is the situation of Ireland, hopeless and without relief are her circumstances, if this her fond expectation, her last, her only remaining refuge, is to be disappointed!—if by so many sacrifices she has only obtained the dearly bought permission of displaying her miseries on a more extended theatre, where the errors, the misfortunes, the crimes of Ireland are to be re-echoed from one House of Parliament to the other, in order to give them publicity to Europe; and that in future, no foreigner should doubt how weak and vulnerable the Empire is in that quarter. Do not, I beseech you, my Lords, believe that the Irish are a nation of degraded beings, insensible

insensible to the blessings of law, order, and government: there is neither candour nor justice in estimating the character of a whole people by the standard of the conduct of a few atrocious criminals, by excesses committed in moments of heat, irritation and civil war. By this mode of reasoning, the whole of the French nation would be made answerable for the infuriate and sanguinary spirit which governed and disgraced, for years of the Revolution, the populace of Paris. The virtues of the inhabitants of Ireland—and they do possess virtues—belong at least to themselves, and are peculiarly their own; their faults are the faults of their situation, and of the calamities which have too often distracted and oppressed their unhappy country. The frequent changes of property, during the seventeenth century; the persecuting code of the eighteenth, the marked line of separation between the old inhabitants and the new, have established distinctions which nor time, nor circumstances, nor Christian charity, nor political necessity have yet been able to remove. It appeared to be the wish of the legislature to create

two distinct and separate nations, possessing separate and distinct interests: unhappily they succeeded but too well; violence will beget violence; oppression will create resistance.—When one part of the community enjoys a free Constitution; and the other is in chains, the natural consequences must be, that the governors will acquire a spirit of domination incompatible with every degree of equal liberty; and the governed, a spirit of licentiousness and resistance, little reconcilable to law and subordination. This has been the state of Ireland: it is not, however, the ordinance of the Almighty, but the policy of man. None of those libellers of their country will maintain that it was pre-ordained that man in Ireland was to be indolent, ferocious, and savage, and in England civilized and industrious. Seek for the effects arising from human conduct, in human causes. Persecution may have been driven from the walls of Parliament, but it has entered into the privacies of domestic life, poisoning the sources of social enjoyment, diffusing dissention and not union, discord and not charity, widening instead
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of closing the breach between the Protestant who conceded with regret, and the Catholic who consequently received without gratitude. The legislature appeared to have advanced in vain, the public mind was retrograde, liberality was in the mouths of all, but persecution and rancour were in the hearts of many; the effects of the abominable code of Popery laws survived the code itself, the extent of mischief it had occasioned was not discovered until those laws had ceased in a great measure to exist. What now remains to be granted only insults the Catholic, without securing the Protestant. How the State would be endangered because a Catholic peer might sit in Parliament, or a Catholic gentleman enjoy any office, or represent any county in which he had a large property, I am at a loss to imagine; particularly when the peerage who have the choice, the government who have the disposal of office, the property who have the influence in elections, would still continue Protestant. The virtues of men, or the effects arising from their virtues, are transitory and perishable; why therefore should their follies

and their prejudices be immortal ! Why should religious hatred last for ever ! It is certainly a created, and not a natural cause of difference. He who believes in Transubstantiation, and he who rejects it, may certainly think alike on other subjects, and be governed by motives equally pure and honourable, as men, as citizens, as Christians. The Protestant may rejoice in the superior purity of his religion, and lament the darkness which overshadows the mind of his Catholic brother; but surely it is not necessary that matters of conscience, or of speculative belief, should interfere with the active conduct of either. Every relaxation of the penal code has been opposed by the same arguments, which have been again and again answered and refuted; I beg pardon, truth and candour oblige me to confess, that in the list of charges and accusations, the Pretender has lately been omitted; but the power of the Pope, whether he be the prisoner of the Directory, or the slave of Bonaparte, whether he vegetate at Rome, or be in chains at Paris, is still alike formidable and portentous; the Protestant property is still in danger,

ger, though that property has been in their hands for five generations ; the families of the original claimants are generally extinct, or resident in foreign countries, and a considerable number of Catholics have purchased and hold their property under the act of settlement and explanation.

A noble Viscount has thought it right to assert, that a registry of the forfeited property was in the possession of the families of the ancient proprietors. In all the heat and agitation of debate which has taken place in the Irish Parliament on this subject, I never before heard the accusation seriously maintained ; if such a record there be, I challenge the noble Lord to produce it—Where is it kept ? In what families does it exist ? The noble Viscount also made an implied panegyric on the penal code, when he asserted that during its existence in full force, Ireland enjoyed an uninterrupted state of tranquillity and peace. At this auspicious and vaunted period all the rights of Ireland were invaded, her commerce could hardly be said to

exist, her principal manufacture was annihilated, her constitution was subverted, her population was reduced to twelve hundred thousand ; this might be peace, but it was the repose of desolation, the tranquillity of a gaol, undisturbed by any sounds but the rattling of chains—the Protestant was a despot, the Catholic was a slave ; the Protestant surrendered his liberty that he might enjoy his tyranny ; the Catholic abandoned his country to seek for bread, and found renown in every service of Europe.

I must complain of the want of candour, I must lament the infatuation which prevails on this delicate subject. I am sorry to see the belief of the Catholics estimated not by their own professions and declarations, but by the charges and accusations of their enemies, whom no denial will silence, no test will satisfy. The Catholics of the nineteenth century are to be judged and doomed to perpetual exclusion for doctrines and opinions which they renounce, abjure, and abhor, but which were formerly held in remote ages by the biggoted zealots of
 Popery,

Popery, before the dawn of reason, truth, or philosophy had purified religion, and broken through the clouds of superstition. The fate of those who profess the Catholic religion in these kingdoms has been rather singular; in the last century, they were proscribed for holding opinions subversive of liberty, and for loving monarchy too much; in this they have been accused of loving it too little, and of changing their doctrines of high prerogative, passive obedience, and divine, indefeasible, hereditary right, for wild, fantastic, mischievous notions of republican liberty and equality—these contradictory charges against the religion of the most numerous body of the Christians of Europe, are neither wise, liberal, or founded. Catholicity has been the faith of some of the most illustrious nations, and the belief of many individuals who have done honour to the name of man. Notwithstanding this acknowledged truth, which bigotry itself will not venture to deny, how often has it been insinuated that they cannot be good subjects to a Protestant King, because

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they are not bound by oaths ; this mischievous opinion has been sustained with vulgar and mischievous asperity : if it were true, why are they petitioners at your bar ? Nothing but their regard for the sanctity of an oath ; nothing but the restraints imposed upon them by conscience, obliges them to submit to the various disabilities of which they complain. I certainly despair of carrying this question now ; but at the same time I am convinced, that it will hereafter be found absolutely necessary to comply with the prayer of the petitioners ; for believe me there is discontent ; danger does exist in Ireland, the amount or extent no man can tell ; suffer not therefore the majority of the inhabitants to remain longer under any disabilities ; take away every pretence for disaffection, and try a system of conciliation and concession ; procrastination is the fool's resource ; policy, state necessity, the situation of Ireland, the critical circumstances of the empire, the willing or unwilling submission of the Continent of Europe to the power of France, all demand this measure. What must be done sooner or later, had better be

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be done now ; what will assuredly be granted, had better be given with the best possible grace. I am sure it is necessary to repeal those laws, in order to lay the basis of the future tranquillity of Ireland ; after so many ages of wretchedness, confusion, and blood, of degradation without and smothered war within, a final settlement and peace is required : a real, solid, founded, substantial peace—not an empty, hollow, treacherous truce. A settlement which would give security at home and respectability abroad would be the commencement of a new æra in Ireland, when every man might forget the prejudices of a sectarian, and recollect the duties of a citizen. All the power, all the energy, all the exertion of a happy and united people might be brought to the assistance of your threatened empire ; that which constitutes your present weakness, would become your future strength. Where you are now vulnerable, you would hereafter be invincible.

Six centuries have elapsed since the English first appeared in Ireland : whether that country was or was not conquered, I shall not stop to

enquire:—to be informed, it is not necessary to open the page of history. All the rugged, shapeless features of conquest are too visible every where; a mile from a great town, every shape and semblance of England vanishes; religion, language, manners, habits, not only distinct, but opposite; the great charter of liberty suspended, the law inoperative, party violence tearing asunder every Christian charity, every endearing connexion; the Protestant in his wrath seeking for his lately emancipated slave, and too many of the lower class of men, in their despair, willing to trample on their allegiance. Such is the faint outline of a most disgusting picture; such the state of a country inhabited by a brave, active, intelligent race of men; blessed with some of the choicest gifts of Providence, rising in power, population, wealth and strength, amidst the bitterness of religious acrimony, popular delusion, and lurking rebellion. No stronger proof can be given of the natural and inherent energies of a country, which has still flourished and prospered, notwithstanding the miserable system which has been pursued,

pursued, and the vicious administration of the government. Ireland is the only country in the world, where it was thought necessary to proscribe by law a great majority of the inhabitants, where the Parliament legislated not for the people, but against the people.

I voted for the Union with a firm conviction, with an assured hope, that it would fortify the connexion between Great-Britain and Ireland, heal the wounds of a distracted country, and ensure the future adoption of the Catholic body. I voted with that doubt, hesitation and reluctance, which every man must experience, who in the triumph of duties over affections, ventures to shock the feelings, the passions, the honest prejudices of his country. I know that I adopted a hazardous experiment. I know that I differed from some of the best and wisest men in Ireland. I am sure at the time it was my honest, genuine, unbiassed sentiment; possibly I might have despaired too soon. Oppressed by a sense of present evil, I fondly, perhaps vainly imagined, that nothing would tend

so much to stifle jealousies, to allay the restless, ferocious, sanguinary spirit of intolerance, to subdue the fears of the loyal, and the hopes of the disaffected. I may have been mistaken; if such has been my misfortune, I have much to lament and something to atone for: but the act is done—I was one of those, who surrendered for ever the legislative independance of my country. During the discussion of the question, many persons of the best intentions, who had before opposed the claims of the Catholics, declared, that after the adoption of that measure, they could see no objection to the repeal of every remaining disability. I therefore entertained a sanguine hope, that tardy justice would at length have been rendered to this numerous and deserving body of men, and that the adoption of the Catholic body would have consummated and confirmed the Union. If, on the contrary, you are only corrupted by our example, and adopt the same prejudices which have so long agitated and distracted Ireland, the Union will be no relief to her misfortunes; it may be an Union by act of parliament, but it is not an Union

Union of interests and affections : it is a settlement which has given dissatisfaction to great bodies of men, without having hitherto afforded contentment to any.

Lord Hutchinson concluded by reading several extracts from Lord Redesdale's speech of the night before; he contradicted many of the assertions of that noble Lord, and called upon the Irish Peers to rise in their places and vindicate the Irish nation from aspersions highly injurious to their honour, and which tended to degrade that country from the rank of civilized nations.

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THE
SPEECH
OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF MOIRA,
IN
THE HOUSE OF LORDS,
ON THE
CATHOLIC QUESTION,
IN 1805.

THE

SPEECH

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF MOUNT

IN

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

ON

CATHOLIC QUESTION

BY

SPEECH, &c.

THE Earl of Moira expressed a wish, that the question should be relieved from a great deal of extraneous matter with which it had been encumbered, and that it should be brought to the test of that plain good sense on which he conceived it to rest. He thought the complexion of the present times demanded, that every exertion should be made to procure an unanimity of heart and mind in the cause of the country. It was very true that to give the Catholics the privilege of admission to the few offices from which they were excluded, would be giving them little; but the gift would shew a disposition to conciliate and to win their affection; which would be in that point of view important. He was surprised to have heard it

said,

said, that the petition tended to throw the torch of discord into the country: on the contrary, he was of opinion, that the object of it, if properly attended to, would tend to establish that harmony which was most essential to the country at the present moment. At the same time that he made these observations, he wished to speak with the utmost respect of the Established Church; but which he did not think would be endangered or injured by granting the Catholic claims. He wished, therefore, that the petition should be referred to a committee, for the purpose of considering whether any danger could really arise from conceding those claims; and if it should be deemed not prudent to grant the whole, whether any part of those claims might be safely admitted; as he wished it to be understood, that in the committee he should certainly be desirous of weighing well each object which the Catholics had in view, and investigating in what manner it would operate with respect to the Church Establishment, before he gave his consent to the admission of the claim which it involved.

THE
SPEECH
OF
Mr. GRATTAN,
IN
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
ON THE
CATHOLIC QUESTION,
IN 1808.

SPRING

Mr. G. R. T. N.

THE NEW YORK

CATHOLIC QUESTION

SPEECH, &c.

MR. GRATTAN observed, that the petition upon the table, intituled *The Petition of the Irish Roman Catholics*, coupled with the other petitions from persons of the same religion, and from different parts of Ireland, might well be supposed to speak the sense of the Catholic body in that kingdom; that is to say, a great portion of the constituents of the Empire, who now apply, through a constitutional medium, for a legitimate object. That in considering their petition he should invoke the spirit of concord; that no expressions should occur in the debate to sharpen the public mind, and that the result of the deliberation should rather approximate than divide.

Upon this principle it was, he should wish that the different parties should resort to the balm of oblivion; and therefore he should not go back to the battle of the Boyne, nor of Aughrim, nor to the times of 1641, nor to the penal code: if they, on one side, went back to those periods, the Catholics would follow them, and would produce man of blood against man of blood, and historian against historian, and the result would be, the parties would remain irreconciled, and irreconcilable. He said he knew the evil of theological contests; he was afraid of the infernal fires of religious discord: he said, that in the course of so many years, and contests, and in the tempests of the times, it was impossible that the different parties should not have committed great violence—a violence inspired by ambition, prompted by bigotry, supported by power, or wrung from oppression:—it was therefore wise, in settling their accounts, that the two nations should reflect, that in their relationship to one another, they had much to admire and something to forget; that it was impossible, in the course of so many years, much

violence

violence should not have taken place: but he begged to add, that the result of what has happened in the course of so many years, is a state of things which renders the cessation of religious animosities absolutely, indispensably, and fundamentally necessary. Our hopes of life grow out of our concord; whatever be the state of your laws, such must be your disposition; and if you cannot for the present alter the laws, the good sense of the two nations must supply the defect, and go on in the spirit of harmony: your enemies have not left you the privilege to hate one another.

When I saw *No Popery* scribbled upon your walls, I lamented the infatuation that held you out as a fanatic people, devoted to mutual destruction, and unequal to the task of your own deliverance. “Strike, France—strike, Spain—“we are a crazy people;” such inscriptions proclaimed no less; “we had rather fall alone, than stand altogether.” For the same reason, I was concerned at the counter-petitions which on a former occasion were presented against the

Catholics; they went against the spirit of national defence, and they canvassed for the French in the King's dominions. It seems the march of public ruin was more rapid in the instance of the petitioners, than the progress of the human understanding; and when they fled from the shadow of the Pope, they were precipitating into that gulph into which so many nations had fallen, and continue to fall. He rejoiced, he said, to observe that there were no such petitions on the present occasion; there was from England no petition whatever against the Catholics, and from Ireland there was but one; the clamour and uproar of *No Popery* had subsided. There was now no attempt to mob these nations out of their senses and their safety, under the drunken affectation of Puritanical devotion.

The precipice on which we stand, has stunned men into their senses. I congratulate this symptom of public convalescence. You yourself have set the example—you took the lead on the subject of religious liberality.

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You did so with respect to the Canadian, with respect to the Corsican, with respect to the Pope, with respect to the Portuguese. You have carried in your ships the government of the last-named people, and the rites, ceremonies, and instruments of their devotion, and planted in South America the popish religion—in North America you had planted it before. You had in Europe protected the Popedom, and in so doing, I think you acted wisely; but, in so doing, you acquitted the Catholic religion, and shewed there was no foreign combination which rendered it dangerous. Such was your conduct with regard to your allies. You have now no allies; your fellow-subjects remain for the exercise of your wisdom.

The petition prays, that Roman Catholics may have admissibility into the state and the legislature. You will observe, the law has already admitted them to political power—has given them the elective franchise, and has made them a part of that body which constitutes the House of Commons, and has also ren-

dered them capable of all functions and offices civil and military, save only certain exceptions; namely, offices of state, and seats in parliament: against these exceptions they pray to be relieved; and, in support of these exceptions, the following arguments are adduced:—

That those who profess the Roman Catholic religion, acknowledge a foreign power—are not bound by their oath of allegiance, and with regard to those of another religion, are not restrained by any faith or compact whatsoever; that is to say, that those persons so admitted by law into the constitution, composing a great part of your navy and army, and declared by a succession of statutes to be good subjects, are destitute of the principles which hold together the social order and the elements of government, and are rendered thus execrable by their religion.

Now, as the religion of those persons is that of the greater part of the Christian world, it would follow, that Christianity had, for the
greater

greater part, destroyed the morals of Christendom. It follows, that the argument must be false, or the Christian religion cannot be true; this objection is thus reduced to a theological impossibility, and the objectors must give up their faith, or give up their argument. To throw a light on this subject, the charges above mentioned have been reduced to certain queries, which have been put to six different Faculties, namely; Paris, Louvain, Salamanca, Valladolid, Alcala, and Douay; these Faculties have answered as follows :—

First, That the Catholics do not hold that the Pope has any temporal power in the King's dominions.

Secondly, That they do not hold that the Pope can absolve the King's subjects from the oath of allegiance.

Thirdly, That they do not maintain the position, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; but that, on the contrary, the Catholics are

are required by their religion, to maintain principles directly opposite to such propositions; and they answer those queries with much moral indignation, and they discuss the points with much erudition; and they shew that whatever some popes might have practised, or some authors might have taught, such practices, and such instructions, were never adopted as part of the Catholic faith; but were, on the contrary, refuted, renounced, and reprobated.

I submit this answer of the above mentioned Faculties as sufficient authority to ascertain the tenets of the Catholic body in general; and I now beg to submit the following instruments as sufficient to ascertain the tenets of the Irish Catholics in particular.

And, first, their oath of the thirteenth and fourteenth of his Majesty's reign, in which they renounce the imputed charges; and also I submit the declaration of 1792, in which they again renounce the imputed charges, and among others renounce the doctrine, that no faith is to
be

be kept with heretics, and also renounce all claims whatever to forfeited property; and, in addition to this, I am to add another instrument, namely, the oath of the thirty-third of the reign, in which they abjure the infallibility of the Pope, as an article of their faith, and swear to preserve the present settlement of property in Ireland, and also to exercise their power in such a manner as shall not weaken the Protestant government or Protestant church—to this I am to add their catechism, in which they inculcate the same principle of duty and obedience to their temporal rulers, as a fundamental part of their education and religion; and from all this follows, that between the two religions, Protestant and Catholic, there is no moral or political incompatibility. But it is objected, that the popish religion is irreconcilable to an attachment to a Protestant prince, and essentially connected with a foreign power. The doctrine of transubstantiation, the practice of the Mass, and the deification of the Virgin Mary, are a principal part of the oath of incapacitation; now, to prove that they are irreconcilable

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to the principles of allegiance, would require as great a miracle as transubstantiation itself; and the men who can believe in that objection, need not cavil at the Eucharist. From this I infer, there is therefore no ground to suppose an hostility to the government at home, and as little can we suppose an attachment to the powers abroad, because the objects of attachment have ceased: there is no Catholic claimant on the Continent—there is no Catholic combination whatever: on the contrary, other nations receive in their service all religions; so it is in America, so it is on the continent of Europe, in France, in Germany—you are almost the only nation that excludes: the others have undergone a silent reformation, and that political conformity has taken place, of which Mr. Paley speaks, when he says, “that if Popery, for instance, and Protestantism, were permitted quietly to dwell together, Papists might not become Protestants, for the name was the last thing they will change, but they would become more enlightened and informed, and, little by little, would incorporate many of their

their tenets, and a portion of their spirit and moderation."

You will observe how little religion enters into political combinations, in the present age; when you recollect the case of America, and remember how the Protestants and Catholics, in the American war united; and united against you, and united with France; and you will see this truth more clearly, when you turn to the present state of Europe; and see how the Protestants and Catholics are incorporated.—Against whom?—Against you. Sweden excepted, you have not one Protestant ally on the face of the globe; the rest of Europe is a formidable combination, composed of all religions; and using the talents of all the members of the different churches against these islands, without any incapacity imposed on their mischievous direction. If then the Protestant religion does not secure to you one ally abroad, and if you suffer your bigotry to deprive you of the full assistance of your fellow-subjects at home, it follows, you will not give your country a fair chance

chance for her empire, and you will fall a victim to the spirit of toleration on the Continent, and exclusion in England. From this I infer, that there is no political incompatibility between the two religions, and that there is a political necessity, notwithstanding the difference of religions, to form a junction for the common defence.

It has been allowed, by those who argue against the Catholics with any candour, that the test proposed is no more than a declaration of a political opinion, and that the religious doctrines contained in that test, are no more than evidences of political attachments. Certainly the state has no right to impose a religious test as a civil disqualification, and the subjects have a right to equal laws, except in cases of delinquency: such I should consider foreign attachment to be. Now as there is no object of foreign attachment, that foreign attachment must cease, and their religious doctrines contained in the test, can be no longer evidences

of

of foreign attachment, and should be no longer the ground of civil disability.

But, it is said, the Pope is a foreign attachment, to this we reply, that the Pope is no political power; that he is a mere interpreter of disputed points of Scripture, and a form of ceremony to give spiritual power; that he is abjured in all temporal points whatever, therefore, in all mixed points; that he is particularly abjured on the subject of allegiance; that the objections attempted to be made, which allege, that marriage, inheritance, and half of the temporal power, are regulated by the Pope, have no foundation or pretence whatever; in as much as marriage is a civil contract, governed by the laws of the land, and inheritance governed by the laws of the land; nor would any Pope's decree or bull be received in evidence in a court of justice, to determine a point either of legitimacy or inheritance. Marriage and inheritance are not only governed by the laws of the land, but they are subjects on which the legislature has manifested its power most transcendantly

antly and tyrannically, witness the 9th of William, witness the 2d of Anne, and other parts of the penal code. On this part of the subject I beg leave to take notice of certain charges made by high authority against the Catholic clergy. It has been said, they carry the power of excommunication to certain legal and tyrannical consequences; it has been said, that they deny any legal right in the Protestant clergy to their tithe or income; it has been said, that they claim to themselves a legal right to the tithe of the land; it has been said, that they deny to the Protestant clergy any legal existence; it has been said, that they claim to themselves a legal power:—to which different charges the titular bishops of the Catholics have replied, and their reply is published in a pamphlet, the work of a learned gentleman of this House, to whose labours and information his country and our's are greatly indebted.* In this publication, and in the face of their country, they

* Sir J. C. Hippisley, M. P. author of a work intituled, the "*Substance of Additional Observations on the Catholic Question*," and containing many valuable documents.

deny solemnly, publicly, and unconditionally, every one of those charges; they deny them without hesitation, without qualification, and without fear; and they do not shrink from an inquiry; and they, in contradiction to the high authority which makes the charges, affirm—

First, That they do not claim any right to the tithe.

Secondly, That they do not deny the right of the Protestant clergy to the tithe.

Thirdly, That they do not claim to themselves any legal authority.

Fourthly, That they do not deny the legal authority of the established church.

And, Fifthly, That they do not extend the power of excommunication to any legal consequences, but confine it to an exclusion from the sacrament, and to the exercise of no other power than that which every club has, and exercises with regard to its members.

Mr. Grattan proceeded to observe, that in the diocese of Dublin, a district very populous, and likely, from the nature of great cities, to be somewhat licentious, two persons only had been excommunicated for the last 19 years, (so it was stated in the publication, by the Catholic bishop of that diocese) and two only for the 17 years preceding. One of them was excommunicated for incest.

He observed, that in answer to the objection founded in the nomination of the Catholic bishops by the Pope, he was authorised to say, that if the government should come to a settlement with the Catholics, the King might have a complete negative on their appointment; that the bishops would send to his Majesty, name after name, until his Majesty should approve of some one of the persons so returned to him: thus no person could be appointed a Catholic bishop without the King's consent. He appealed to those who entertained apprehensions on this subject, and desired them to take this opportunity to quiet their fears; for, if
their

their fears were well founded, the danger existed under the present laws, and was a decisive argument for going into a committee now; and, if they object still to admit the Catholics into the state and the legislature, they reject an offer to give the King such a check in the appointments to the Catholic church, as would give the Protestant government a solid additional strength. They, in fact, prefer the exclusion of the Catholic from the constitution, and of the King from the Catholic church; that is to say, they prefer the double separation, and they reject the double bond and connection; for instance, the communication of the Catholics in our state and legislature, and of the King in the Catholic church—they prefer their danger, and reject their security.

I said, in making this proposal, I have authority; and I wish to be understood, that, in so doing, I am authorised by one appointed by the Catholic bishops, their agent for the management of their interest; and I request, over and over again, that you will pay atten-

tion to this part of the subject, for it is an occasion which you now have to settle church and state, on the best foundation, and to terminate the Catholic question for ever; and here I conclude those objections, which go against the Catholics in general, and I come to those objections which are appropriate to the constitution of England and the state of Ireland; and it is said, that the admission of the Catholics into the state and legislature, is inconsistent with the constitution, as settled at the Revolution. Now I call for the production of any fundamental law, which requires their exclusion. The law enacting the qualification test is not one; that test was, in 1742, imposed in Ireland, by a resolution of the different Houses of Parliament, assuming the authority of the legislature. It was imposed in 1761, in the same arbitrary manner, and afterwards was imposed on the Irish members of parliament, by an English legislature, and was not a fundamental law, but the exercise of a tyrannical power against the principles of law and liberty; they must, therefore, look elsewhere for a fundamental law; they

they think they find one in the limitation of the crown to a Protestant succession, because the entail of the crown requires the person so taking to be a Protestant; they infer, that the principle should be extended beyond the crown, and go to the King's counsellors and Legislature—the provision names the King, and they infer it means the Legislature. I deny the inference; the provision names the King, and is satisfied—it is satisfied with one of the estates, and seems to judge, that, having secured that advantage to the Protestant, it might trust the estate so secured, with the full prerogative of chusing from among all his subjects whatever was to be found of great talents, industry, or virtue. Besides the objection against civil incapacities, created by force of inference, I beg to observe, that the provision of the act and the inference are founded upon different principles: the principle of the provision is, that the King should be of the religion of his people; the principle of the inference, in its application to Ireland is, that the people should be of the religion of the King; the idea of the provision is priority, the idea of

of the inference is exclusion. Now it does not follow, that because the Protestant should have exclusively one of the estates, the Catholic should have no share in the other—that is, the Catholic should have nothing. Again, the idea of the provision is the limitation of a grant—that of the inference, the imposition of a penalty, without a delinquency; the inference therefore we hold to be no fundamental law, but a bad argument; and we oppose to this, a fundamental principle, on the part of the Catholics—namely, a right in the Commons to form a part of the legislature, and which the Catholics have, of course, being a part of the Commons, and being unimpeachable for any political delinquency. Having formed an Union with Ireland, you must either extend these principles of your constitution, or you must abandon them—you must either admit the Catholics, or you must reject a great portion of the Commons—and, in so doing, the Union will prove a measure—not of consolidation, nor of identification, but of ambition against the parliament of Ireland; and of bigotry against the people.

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If therefore you look to the general principle of the Constitution, you must agree to their petition; or if you look to the particular transaction in discussion, namely, the Revolution (for what was the spirit of that transaction but civil and religious liberty?), or if you look to the duration of the Constitution, you must agree to the petition, whether you consider its danger as arising from internal or external causes. Do you think that the danger from treachery and insurrection, as affecting your liberty, would be greater from a certain number of Catholics exercising their talents, and gratifying their ambition within the organs of the Constitution, capacious enough to contain those exertions, or from their extravasated ambition, acting in the aggregate meeting, or acting in the dark? Do you think that the danger from the influence of the Crown would be less, if the Crown had the opportunity of a perpetual appeal to a body of men excluded from the higher privileges of the State, and looking up to the Crown for protection and for refuge? Do you think that the danger would be less from the enemy, if you left

to that enemy an opening to solicit the ambition, gratify the resentment, or sooth the mortification of a great portion of your fellow subjects? Do you think the Church would be safer by making its establishment an argument against the civil capacities of a great part of the community—or the state safer by removing a part of its popular foundation—or the tree more firm by cutting away part of its root—or the capital more secure by undermining its base—or that what would be a violation of the fundamental laws of natural strength, would be to the state a rule and measure of safety?

How did you find it in your Levy in Mass Bill, which you did not extend to Ireland? or in your Training Bill, which you did not extend to Ireland? Why not extend to Ireland? Because you had not extended your Constitution? How did you find it at the Union, when this very exclusion proved the fatal quicksand on which the Irish Parliament stranded, and on whose shifting foundation you now propose to build the eternity of your Constitution and Empire?

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It is said, we will guard the state, and we will guard the church; to which I answer, I hope you will guard the church, and I hope you will guard the state; but by yourselves you can guard neither; you require the assistance of your Catholic fellow-subjects to guard the succession of the crown; and in order to secure their support you should communicate your privileges. It is said, the Constitution is formed on Protestant principles; to which I answer, the Constitution was formed by your Catholic ancestors; Magna Charta and the Laws of the Edwards was the work of the Catholics; the petition of right, and the declaration of right; are only declaratory; the Revolution itself, and the settlement then made, that great and, I hope, immortal work, does ascertain much, and does improve much of your Constitution, but does in no particular alter its essence; it is still essentially the same Constitution which the Catholics formed, and which therefore cannot be incompatible with the Catholic religion. It is said, that the Catholic claims go to establish a Catholic parliament, and a Catholic cabinet;

to

to which I answer, that the claim does not go to establish a Catholic cabinet, nor a Catholic parliament, nor to a transfer of the powers of the state: but it does go to establish, in a very great proportion of His Majesty's subjects, a very small proportion of the privileges of the Constitution, and the powers of the state which are open to the remainder; and in so doing their claim is much more constitutional, and much more reasonable, and by far more political, than the wish of those who desire that the powers of the state and the legislature shall be centered in a religious sect, to the exclusion of a fourth or a fifth of the people. A king with a Catholic council, we are told, is a strange anomaly; but where is the anomaly in an assembly where all are not of the same religion? Where is the injury? Where was the injury to Henry the Fourth to have in his cabinet a Sully, or to Lewis the Fourteenth to have in his army a Turenne? If your enemies have the range of all the abilities of their subjects, in a much greater extent of population, do you think it wise in a smaller population to improve as it were

were on diminution, and conscientiously deprive yourselves of the talents of your people?

From the state the objectors proceed to the church, and say that the Catholics, if admitted into the state, would use their power to overturn the Protestant church and establish their own. Here the objectors return again to that error which supposes the majority of Christians to be what their persecutors originally supposed them; a restless, dangerous, and implacable sect, which no interest could allure, and no benefit could soften; and on this monstrous imagination they propose eternal disabilities, and then they proceed to another argument still more objectionable, and tell us, that the Catholics should not be admitted into the state, lest they should use their power to withdraw the stipend which they pay to the Protestant church; thus the money they give to the church is made the foundation for their exclusion from the state. That the Catholics should contribute to our church I do acknowledge; but that they should be incapacitated on that account I deny: such a principle

were

were to found our church on injustice. Men who reason so in securing the church, forget the attributes of their Maker; as in securing the state, they had forgotten a fourth of the community; and on those two omissions they propose to establish the security of church and state; they do not see that both are to be supported by their own excellence, by justice, by the benefits which mankind derive from them, and by a strong conviction that the church and state are perfectly compatible with, and essential to our civil interests: quite otherwise those men; they suppose the great objects I speak of, church and state, that is to say, religion and government, are preserved in the spiteful clause of a disqualifying statute, and that omnipotence would fail to effectuate its purposes if it were not bolstered up, and eked out by the aid of human malice. We must lend the Almighty our injustice to support his religion ! Thus they think, and thus they conceive the Deity to rest on the establishment, and the establishment on civil incapacities; and thus they would make Religion and Constitution, as settled at the Revolution,

lution, the victory of a sect, which, if properly understood, would be the blessing and the freedom of an Empire.

The church can only be destroyed two ways—by law, or by force. By law, the Catholics can not destroy it; and by force they will not. They can not by law, for they will not be the majority; by force they will not, for they will not increase their physical force by the admission, and will at the same time entertain new motives to sustain the church and defend it. No, say the objectors—with a Pagan this might be good logic, but with a Christian quite otherwise; to him, additional benefits are provocations, and a new interest in the state is a motive to subvert it.

I have done with the objections which are appropriate to England, and I now come to those which are applicable to Ireland; and they are founded on the supposed disposition of our people, and state of our property. The objectors tell you, that the Irish hate the English and the
Protestant :

Protestant : they said before, that if the Catholics be true to their religion they cannot be loyal ; thus we are told, that national discord is the order of their instinct, and treason the duty of their religion. The objectors say this, and saying this, they shew the horrid nature of the dispute, and tend to promote the curse they deprecate, and to make the two nations mutually hate, by assuring one of the enmity of the other. They are, however, refuted in this, by analyzing the objection, which can not be founded in the soil, otherwise the Irish Protestant would hate the Englishman ; nor yet in the religion, otherwise the English Catholic would hate the English Protestant : but from this objection a conclusion can be drawn, not against the Irish, nor the Catholics, but against the penal code, which has created a degree of animosity not yet perhaps entirely subsided. The code being the cause, the repeal of the code will be the removal of the cause. Whether the code was an adequate cause was detailed by the late Lord Avonmore. His speech on that subject was a course of inspired wisdom ; it

flowed

flowed like an Atlantic wave, a column of water three thousand miles deep; he began with the Catholic at his birth, and followed him to his grave, and, in a stream of sacred rage, he manifested how, in every period of life, he was harassed; pains and penalties stood at his cradle—stood at his bridal bed—stood at his coffin!

The justice, the wisdom, and the duty of the Irish parliament repealed the greater part of that code; it remains for your justice, your wisdom, and your duty to repeal the remainder. We call for that dominating understanding which, at the time of the Union, they promised, was to overwhelm prejudice, and give repose to the Empire.

The other local objection relates to property: it is almost abandoned; and to that objection the present state of property in Ireland is a complete answer. It is not necessary to discuss the fable of the map, which is a public instrument kept in the Auditor's Office, and with which the Catholics have no more concern than
any

any other body; it is sufficient to observe, that the Catholic purchasers, under the Act of Settlement, directly or indirectly, are numerous; that the ancient proprietors are few; that the Catholic landed property is not, as has been stated, about 50,000 a year, but from 500,000 to 1,000,000; add to this, that a great proportion of the Catholics are tenantry holding under Protestant titles, so that the majority of the Catholics are interested in supporting the present state of property. No, say Gentlemen, they will give up their leases to restore the old proprietors; that is to say, give the Catholics more privileges, and then the upper order will try to get rid of their lives, and the lower orders will try to get rid of their leases! Again, it is asked, how should they upset the present state of property?—By force?—No, the law which would admit them into the state, would not increase their physical force, but would furnish new motives for a constitutional direction. —By law? No, they could not make such a law unless they became a majority; nor could they become a majority unless they got the major part of the landed

landed property in both countries; and then the state of property would be that subject which they would least of all attempt to disturb. The proprietors of Ireland are not however at their ease on the state of property; but their apprehension arises from the continuation of civil disabilities, not the removal of them; they fear the divisions of their country, and they fear the invasion of it, and they deprecate the terrible protection which you offer them, in the code of civil incapacities, and political monopoly. Accordingly, a very material change has taken place in the Protestants of Ireland; it is a fact I wish you would enquire into; I have seen from eight counties, resolutions of the Protestants adopted either at county meetings or by grand juries, or by individuals possessing considerable portions of the property of their respective counties; resolutions, for instance, voted by the counties of Clare, Galway, Roscommon, by the grand jury of Kilkenny, or signed by a very numerous body of the most wealthy Protestant inhabitants of Tipperary, Waterford, and the town of Newry. All these

solicit for their Catholic brethren—offer up their monopoly, and desire you will heal the divisions of their country; and, in so doing, they recruit for the British Empire more powerfully—more numerous than either your parish bill, or your local militia. What answer will you give these men? You will observe, the Catholics have offered to make you a present of a negative power in their church; and the Protestants, in a great proportion, offer to give up their monopoly. Will you answer both, by saying, we leave the church to the Pope, and the country to her divisions. It is said, the privileges desired are of little moment—namely, a share in the state and in the legislature: they are told so by those who make great sacrifices of industry and property, to come into both. When such men hold this language, they depreciate the value of their own Constitution, and they become the apostles of inferiority and degradation. They familiarize themselves to the low state they would recommend to others, and are thus punished, in self degradation, for keeping their fellow-subjects out of the privileges of
their

their constitution, and when an emergency shall arise they can command no high language to animate their country, and have left no common appeal to her pride or her passion. They tell you the Catholics do not desire this; and they quote the evidence of Dr. M'Nevin, Mr. Emmet, Mr. O'Connor and others; but the same evidence tells you the want of this was the cause of the calamities of 1798; and the petitions of 1795, and of 1805, and the petition now on your table, containing, I may say, the sentiments of the whole Catholic body of Ireland, tell you most emphatically that the Catholics *do* desire these privileges; and common sense must tell you that no body of men will be long satisfied with a state of inferiority and exclusion: but if you suppose the observation to be true, which I deny, what is the amount of it? That you have, in a fourth part of your community, conquered the spirit of your own constitution. What then remains, if that be a fact, but to reinspire that body, and make it a vital part of the society? So you will plant a soul in your empire to circulate from center to circumference. But it is said

all this may serve, but it will not satisfy; the objectors refer to the act of 1793, which did serve and did not satisfy; to which I answer, that the Catholics were not satisfied in 1793, because the administration was not friendly either to the act, or to the Catholics. It is not necessary to go back to that time further than to say, that the spirit of the then government was not changed with the change of the laws; and that if you expect to satisfy the Catholics, you must treat them as you would treat yourselves, and give them not only a mild code of law but a mild government.

To abuse the conscience of the King is consistent with an abuse of religion, and accordingly the objectors say that the oath of the King is a bar to the prayer of the Catholics; the King, according to them, is sworn to the civil incapacity of the fourth of his people. The King of these countries is certainly sworn to the liberties of his people, and to the observation of the laws by which those liberties, civil and religious, are protected; but he is not sworn to any particular

cular law, or any penal code; he is sworn as in his executive, not in his legislative, capacity; otherwise he would be sworn against the advice of his hereditary council, his peers, and his national council, the commons; and the church, in this instance, would advance a claim against any interference of the legislature whatever, which would be a violation of the principles of human policy in general and of our constitution in particular; besides, you will observe that the present code did not pass till after the coronation oath was taken; and you will further observe, that if this construction be true, the Kings of England have, from the beginning, been in a course of perjury. Henry the Eighth perjured, Queen Elizabeth perjured, our glorious deliverer, King William, when he signed the Articles of Limerick, perjured; Queen Anne, when she gave her royal assent to the union, perjured. You will observe, the coronation oath goes as much against the Dissenters as against the Catholics; and, therefore, the establishment of the kirk of Scotland, according to this construction was a perjury. Our gracious Sovereign

has assented to many wise and beneficial laws, not to mention the case of Corsica; he has given the royal assent to the Quebec Bill, which established the Popish religion in Canada; has given the royal assent to the Irish statute of 1798, which gave the Catholics the fee simple in landed property; he has assented to the Irish statute of 1792, which admitted the Catholics to the professions; he has given the royal assent to the Irish statute of 1793, which gave the Roman Catholics the elective franchise, and admitted them to civil and military power; these were great acts; but, according to this construction, these great acts, the best of his reign, were a violation of his oath. If it were necessary to protest any more against this monstrous doctrine, it were sufficient to advert to the penal code, and its barbarous provisions, to which this argument supposes our gracious Sovereign to be for ever linked and subjugated by the solemn obligation of an oath; and to look to the terms of the oath itself, wherein the sovereign swears to the preservation of the rights of the church. Are we then to be told that the rights
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of the church imply the civil incapacity of the fourth of the people; and that the church establishment is a confederacy against the privilege of the subject, and the King a sworn party in that confederacy? I can conceive a case in which the oath of the King would interpose on the subject of civil incapacity—should ever the enemy of these countries so far prevail as to bring their existence into danger, in that case the repeal of civil incapacities might be one of the means of defence, and the King would consult his royal oath to preserve the church, by giving his consent to a measure essential to the preservation of his Empire.

I have submitted the objections to the Catholic claim, with their answers. Mr. Fox brought on this subject before; I have followed that great light. He was, on the Catholic question, a powerful advocate; he was also a great authority. I remember to have heard, in 1777, his opinion on the subject; it was decidedly against the penal code. In the close of his life, in 1805, he brought forward this question in favour of

the Irish Catholics. He had, in 1782, moved for the recognition of the independency of the Irish Parliament, so that Ireland stands over his grave and weeps and reflects on his great and singular endowments, his good weaknesses, the glow of his heart, and the negligent grandeur of his capacity. He stated the Catholic claim unanswerably, and yet he had not the melancholy strength of case which I have: namely, that since his time Russia has become your enemy—that Austria has fallen off—that Prussia is annihilated—and that our divisions must now be lost in our danger; against this danger unparalleled in your annals, scarcely paralleled in the annals of man, two remedies are proposed by the opponents of the Catholics; religious schism, and political division. Is there any thing more mad than such an idea of security? yes, the idea which the same men entertain of your danger; namely, a few Catholics in the state or the legislature: these will soon (so they argue) become the majority of the Irish members; then they will become the majority of the English and Scotch members; then they will get every thing, and

so

so ruin every thing. These are the apprehensions of many weak, but also of some wise men; but wise men educated in religious prejudices are often no better than children, because on religious subjects they take a liberty with reason, and not seldom with morality—despising reason, without reaching inspiration—set adrift from one world without knowing the other, they bring back conclusions pernicious to both, and belonging to neither. To meet the present danger I should submit a remedy very different from that suggested by such—I should suggest national concord—I should recommend it to the Parliament, and if the Parliament could not adopt it, I should recommend it to the people; that the good sense of both nations should supply the defect of their laws, and act in the spirit of equal and complete toleration. I should here appeal to the gentlemen of Ireland to associate with the Catholics as much as possible: for if they form a distinct society, they will be a distinct people, and will reap in that distinction nothing but the wages of pride; namely, misery and weakness. Their example would do
much

much—their presence would do more;—they will be able to communicate through all their tenantry the spirit of tolerance, of concord, and of national defence; for, in fact, they are one and the same, and they will be able to protect the Catholics against the vanity, the cruelty, and the insolence of assumed superiority; against the little tyrant, and the bigoted oppressor, that often are found in the saucy magistrate, and his galling dominion of pride, and of partiality.

There is in Ireland a description of persons who pass under the general appellation of Orange-men. To them I wish to say a very few words—many of them are misunderstood, and though heated by the controversy of the moment, will relapse into the characteristical good nature and benevolent genius of their country. The affectation of exclusive allegiance—the hesitation to corps with Catholics in the common defence, and the insinuations that tend to affront men of spirit out of their loyalty—are now I should hope abandoned by the Orange-men and forgotten. In the heat of controversy these men were
intemperate

intemperate; in the cooler hour of reflection they will be mild,—and surveying the dangers with which we are environed, will abhor that wretched bigotry which would impose on our nation the division of tyrant and slave;—easy to conquer, and impossible to govern.—The existence of such a state is disgrace—its continuance subjugation.

To those whose fate it is to administer the affairs of this country, and to manage the last stake of the Empire; I would observe that it is difficult to save, and easy to ruin. In the appointment of persons to places of trust, in the selection of magistrates, in the disposal of power, in the countenance they give, and the example they afford; they may not in Ireland be able to do essential good, but they may do great mischief. Nations act from resentment, and any measure which should gall the feelings of Ireland, and which at another time might be only a folly, would be a high crime and misdemeanour at this. The Catholic should never suffer under the victory of a party, nor Ireland be made a party question. No bigotry on the side of
govern-

government, and you will have no French tendency on the part of the people ; and do not credit the tales which have been talked—as, for instance, that there are parts of Ireland in which no Protestant can live, and that even in Dublin, Protestant servants cannot get themselves apprenticed, or that Catholics will not suffer Protestants to live in the same service, and so forth. To this I advance an absolute contradiction, and offer to disprove it in a committee: and the Catholics desire they may not be concluded against by such evidence, and they appeal to the conscious persuasion of their fellow subjects, and they appeal to Maida, and they appeal to Egypt;* regions that would not have witnessed their valour if such calumnies were founded.

I do not agree with those who represent the lower classes of Irish as a lazy and savage race. I see them climbing their hills, labouring their mountains, and making the barren spot to smile under the force of their industry.

* And to South America, whose soil is still reeking with the blood of Irish Roman Catholics that fell with their Protestant comrades at Buenos-Ayres.

I do not agree with those who represent the Irish landlords in general as greedy and oppressive: the existence of the middle men proves that the head landlord does not demand the highest rent for his estate. These suggestions, arising from ignorance, tend to make the upper orders despise the lower, to make the lower orders hate the upper, and to mislead both. But in order to judge of the people of Ireland, look at their works:—they have in twenty-five years added a third to their export; they have increased fourfold their revenue, and have added near a third to their population; they have procured a free trade and a free constitution; these are the barbarous perfections of the people of Ireland. The Catholics had their share in procuring those blessings; they have had some share in the enjoyment. I shall not debase their petition by exaggerating their mortifications. They may be jurors; they have admission to the professions; they have admission to all offices, civil and military, except the offices of state; and they have votes at elections for members to serve in parliament. What these are

are worth I cannot estimate; but they are worth defending against a foreign enemy: the Catholics would not surrender them to the Kings of England, they will not surrender them to the Sovereigns of France: besides, in these are the seminal principles of the remainder—the remainder, the object of the petition, will come—it will come from a due consideration of the subject, and from the influence of common danger and common sense.

I mentioned the progress of the country for the last five and twenty years—about a third added to her export, and near a third to her population; so that Ireland now stands by your side, a country with near five millions of people, exporting ten millions of commodities, supplying you with about seven hundred thousand pounds worth of corn, paying you near two millions of rent, two millions of interest, and furnishing your army and your navy with a great proportion of their strength. I mention this, that you may see what a stake you have in Ireland, and that she may see what a state she has
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in Great Britain; and that both may see they have nothing but one another; that Ireland may put that just estimation on her own grown and growing proportions, as to raise herself above little jealousies and divisions; and that you may perceive the folly—the wickedness—the impossibility of governing such a country by corruption, by division, by bigotry, or by any thing less than the plain, honest, legitimate ways of legislation. The more to illustrate the necessity of this, turn to the Continent, and behold almost every port in the hands of your enemy: let me suppose you saw issuing from those ports different expeditions to invade Ireland; would you then send dispatches with order to secure the corporations against the Catholics, to preserve the Parliament against their admission, and to keep them out of the Bank, and thus secure the barrier of your civil and religious liberty? Would you not, on the contrary, give orders instantly to remove such distinction, to embody and incorporate?—but then it might be too late. Now, therefore, when you are mistress of the sea, and have time

not

to give full effect to the experiment, will you not repeal and do away those execrable distinctions, so that you may prepare for the final battle, which is to decide the rivalry of five hundred years with the antient enemy of your power and name? How would you answer it to your posterity, that you lost the hereditary laurel of your country, because you were afraid of the Pope, or of the Canons of Lateran, or the Council of Constance? To these reflections I refer the petition on your table—It is the petition of a People—They do not approach you with an affected humility, nor yet a vain display of numbers. They know your value and their own—they apply to you as freemen should apply to freemen; and now, when the Russian has turned against you, and the Austrian has left you, they come to sustain, and at the same time to share your privileges, or if the day shall be against you, to go to the grave along with you—but with the pride and honours of your Constitution.—I shall move you for a Committee to take their petition into consideration: You will pay it due attention; and so may you long enjoy your liberties, and never survive them.

THE
SPEECH
OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD HUTCHINSON, K.B.
IN
THE HOUSE OF LORDS,
ON THE
CATHOLIC QUESTION,
IN 1808.

STREET

THE NORTH SIDE

AND BOWMAN, A. H.

THE NORTH SIDE

CHURCH OF THE

THE NORTH SIDE

SPEECH, &c.

LORD HUTCHINSON—The first objection urged against this petition is the time*. That is certainly not a parliamentary objection; it might have been a matter of consideration for those who have petitioned, but to us, it only belongs to deliberate with candour and wisdom, and to decide with justice. The petitioners have used a constitutional right, which no man can deny them. They have exercised that right with moderation and forbearance, because nothing can be more decorous, more respectful

* With respect to time, and in regard to the Irish Roman Catholics, let us see what Dr. Duigenan says:—"If we were one people with the British nation, the preponderance of the Protestant Body, in the whole Empire, would be so great, that all rivalships and jealousies, between Protestants and Romanists, would cease for ever; and it would not be necessary, for the safety of the Empire at large, to curb Romanists by *any exclusive Law whatever.*" *Quantum Mutatus!*

towards parliament, than the tone, the manner, the language of this petition. It is in vain for those who do not suffer, to tell those who do,—complain not, I am perfectly satisfied with my own state, and cannot at this moment examine into your's; but do not despair, the time may yet come, when my temper, my circumstances, my fears, or my gratitude, may induce me to inquire; and then, if I cannot yield to your wishes, I will at least convince your understanding, and prove to you, that your complaints are unreasonable, and your grievances imaginary.—It becomes not the gravity and dignity of this House, to inquire, why certain petitioners have thought it expedient to come before them now, and not in the last session of Parliament? Of this I am convinced, that no extraneous influence has been made use of, to bring forward the petition. I should highly disapprove of the conduct of any man, not belonging to the body, who should use his influence and talents, to agitate the Catholics of Ireland, at a crisis so awful, and so critical as the present. This petition is certainly their own act, uninfluenced by any party. The ob-

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ject of it is neither to throw weight into the scale of the opposition, or to embarrass the government, but to bring their case fairly and boldly before the public, conscious of the justice of their cause, and convinced, that the oftener it is discussed, the more triumphant it will appear. I most firmly believe, that no person or persons, who have seats in this House, used any efforts to induce the petitioners to appear before you. I go farther, I assert, without the fear or hazard of contradiction, that this question was not under the controul, power, or will, of any man or body of men, who sit here. The Catholics judged for themselves, and for their own cause. The petition was first offered to the noble Duke at the head of the Government, and when declined by him, put into the hands of my noble friend, who sits near me. I have heard a great deal of the animosities and the heat, the passions and the prejudices, which the mere agitation of this question is likely to excite ; but I cannot pay so ill a compliment to the understanding, the judgment, and the feelings of this country, as to suppose, that a question, embracing the rights and immunities

of four millions of their fellow-subjects, cannot receive a patient investigation; and that those who complain of Catholic bigotry, will not bear even the mention of perfect and complete toleration. It has been something more than insinuated, that party views, and factious purposes, are the real causes which have led to the present agitation of this question; for my own part, I am at a loss to imagine, what selfish purpose can be gratified, or what personal interest promoted, by the line of conduct which we have pursued, and by defending the cause of the present petitioners. Those who have laboured long and arduously, in this most painful of all political discussions, have as yet obtained no reward but calumny, misrepresentation, and obloquy. It has been urged against us, that we ourselves must be hopeless of success, and conscious that these laws cannot now be repealed. This question has, and will assuredly share the fate of every other great constitutional question and improvement. It has, and will be repeatedly rejected. The progress of truth, reason, and real liberty, has been often controuled, checked, and impeded; but though

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the march has been slow, the ultimate triumph has been certain. De Lolme remarks, that no great constitutional bill was ever offered for the consideration of Parliament, that did not at length become the law of the land, notwithstanding every resistance opposed to it, by power, influence, and prejudice. If a single rejection had been the proof of the fixed and unalterable determination of the legislature, our boasted Constitution would now be without many of those guards and fences, which ensure its duration. Like every other work of man, its improvement has been progressive, but not without struggle, debate, and resistance. I know we have to contend against power, against influence, against prejudice. It will be our fate, like that of other men, who take up great principles, in opposition to narrow views, idle fears, and selfish interests, to be opposed and calumniated; to be mortified by the misrepresentation of our cotemporaries, and to be rewarded by the estimation of posterity, and the applause of every wise and thinking mind, who would wish to strengthen the Empire, and to heal the wounds of a divided people. If this

be a factious question, I am one of the most factious of men, and for me there is no hope of amendment. With this long continued struggle, I commenced my political career. Year after year, I have heard the same charges made and repelled, the same arguments answered and refuted. I have heard a code oppressive, sanguinary, unexampled in the annals of civilized man, defended with the same ardour and zeal, and by reasonings nearly similar to those which have been urged on this night. It never entered into the wild imagination of the most remorseless bigot, to defend his system of persecution, proscription, and blood, on any other principles than those of supposed danger, either to the Church or to the State. The Pretender is dead, the Pope is a prisoner in his capital: that tremendous power, once the dread of every genuine zealot, is gone for ever; its fall has not certainly added security to the Protestant Church, for it may possibly have shaken some of the pillars and main props of every religious establishment. The Catholic Church, that old and venerable fabric, which has resist-

ed the shocks of so many ages, and so many enemies, the convulsion of the Reformation, the acuteness of reason, the sarcasm of infidelity, and even the abuse of its own power and authority, is now threatened with ruin, and will probably leave nothing behind it, but an unprofitable lesson, which will make no impression on the minds of the professors of any religion; and an example, which will neither counsel nor instruct a heedless posterity. The wealth, the union, the influence of the Catholic Church, exist no longer: that power of universal combination, which menaced conflict and attack to every hostile establishment, is dissolved for ever! Where are its proud pretensions now? Where is that authority which once might have dictated to embattled legions? Its arms are nerveless and unstrung; its name no longer venerated; its imperious head bowed to the dust, and bound in adamantine chains! Such is the melancholy picture, which the short course of only a few revolving years exhibits to our astonished view. Yet still we talk of the Catholic religion, as if it were unchanged,

as if that church had undergone no revolution; and, as if the Pope was still the real and acknowledged head of Catholicity, enjoying uncontrouled and uninfluenced, all his ancient preponderancy, prerogatives, and authority; and possessing the power of agitating the great body of the Catholics, and setting, at his command, all Europe in motion. Yet the opposers of this measure are unshaken and unsubdued, by the tremendous events which have happened in their own times: they still contend that priests, whether they are educated abroad or at home, in the domain of freedom, or in the lap of ignorance and superstition, are alike unchanged and unchangeable, alike imbued with foreign prejudices, hostile to the liberties, the constitution, and the religion of their country. It is a miserable employment, a degrading waste of time, to be obliged to refute that again, which has been ten times refuted before, to be told on every fresh discussion, that the Catholics hold doctrines, which they have solemnly abjured, and profess opinions which they have publicly renounced. It does not indeed ap-
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pear, that the Catholic Church ever held many of the erroneous doctrines imputed to it, by the intemperate zeal of fiery bigots, and by the unfounded assertion of uncandid controversy, which has determined to be loud, although it could not be convincing; obstinate, although it could not be victorious; which it was easy to conquer, but difficult to subdue; which every fair and dispassionate reasoner could refute, but no human power could silence.

The opposers of this measure have maintained, that nothing can be more absurd, than to surround a Protestant King with Catholic Counsellors. It has even been boldly asserted, that no such latitude has been allowed, or such practice adopted by any government, with the exception of modern France and of America; our past experience, and our present knowledge, both contradict this position. Turenne and Schomberg, (Protestants), commanded the armies of Louis the Fourteenth, during the most fortunate and glorious part of his reign, before the weakness of a woman, the craft of a priest,

priest, and the zeal of a sanguinary minister, had perverted his understanding, poisoned his councils, and tarnished his glory. The mighty Sovereign of a mighty nation, deposing his diadem, adopted the cowl of a monk, and employed those arms which had enabled him to triumph over the league of confederated Europe against the harmless religion of his obedient subjects. Saxe and Lowendal were both in the service of Louis XV.; the Russian Generals and Admirals have often been foreigners, not conforming to the religion of the State; lately a Catholic Nobleman has been the First Minister of the Empire. The three Mandarins who attended Lord Macartney, during his progress in China, were of three different religions. How ridiculous is it to suppose, that a person of high birth and endowments, cannot be faithful to his country, or true to his own glory, because he accepts and professes an abstruse tenet of the creed of his Fathers, differing from that of the Sovereign, whom he serves and obeys; surely such an opinion cannot be founded on a true estimate of the character of man, or on a knowledge

knowledge of the springs and motives, which are the operative principles of human action. To believe such reasoners, ambition, glory, honour sink in the scale. The wise counsellor, the laborious minister, the bold, the ardent general, are converted into petty disputants, are bewildered in the maze of polemical discussion, and pass their time in the ignoble occupation of endeavouring to put down the State, in order to put up their religion. Surely, if all history be not a fable, this miserable affectation of fears which are not felt, and of dangers, which are not apprehended, can never influence the sober reason of any reasoning man, who trusts to his own judgment and knowledge, and who chooses to see what is passing in his own times, or in his own country. — What! am I seriously to be told, that men who possess that reach and scope of mind, which entitle and enable them to fill the highest offices of the state, to advise Sovereigns, to govern Empires, and command armies, are so immersed in theological controversies, which no human acuteness can completely unravel, or human intellect completely understand;

understand; that in comparison every thing which is great, appears in their eyes little, and every thing which is really little appears great? That imputed zeal for polemical disputation, that uncontroled obstinate attachment to certain modes of faith, which will not bear either contradiction, or discussion, that love of proselytism, that missionary ardour, which oftentimes influences the mind, and governs the conduct of men in other situations of life, seldom reaches the proud abodes, or touches the callous hearts of those, who, elevated above the common herd of their species, are too often only to be influenced by the greediness of ambition, by the love of power, by the hope of earthly predominance. Such men, immersed in business, and occupied in the pursuits of active life, do not allow themselves to be arrested in their rapid course, by unfathomable speculation—they pass unheeded the disputants of every sect.

If it were possible, on a subject of this kind, to stifle the acrimonious passions of the human heart; if candour could prevail over prejudice,

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or truth silence religious malignity ; if in public debate, fallacy and sophism did not constantly prevail over reason and argument ; no man could be found who would seriously maintain, that in this age, religious opinions could have sufficient power to counter-balance all other human considerations, and that counsellors of state, ministers and generals, would consider not the duties of their station, but the prevalence of their sect. Certainly religious enthusiasm is not the marked characteristic of the present times—men are more to be reprehended for not practising the religion which they appear to profess, than for any outrageous desire to make converts : this is rather the age of indifférence, than of fanaticism. In our times the most tremendous revolutions have shaken and devastated the Continent of Europe ; states and empires have fallen in rapid succession ; but who will venture to contend that religious opinions of any sect were an operative principle, or a powerful agent in the preparation, or the accomplishment of these events ; the right of the proprietor, the majesty of the king, the sacredness of the priest,

priest, have been alike violated; but the name of religion has not been abused. In order to force the conscience of men, persecution has not been let loose, hypocrisy has become useless, fanaticism ridiculous! Whatever other indignity may have been offered to insulted man, from lawless violence, and ruffian force, this last degradation has been spared him; the chains of a slave have not been forged by the hands of a bigot.

Whatever King William, who certainly was a great man and no persecutor, might have said or written to his partisans in England, with his eyes fixed on the Throne, and covering the views of ambition with the mantle of religion, is no more applicable to the present times, than the opinions of the schoolmen of the middle ages, to the doctrines of modern philosophers. I admit that a hundred and twenty years ago, in order to enjoy great civil offices in any government, it was necessary to conform to the religion of the state; but no man can be so ignorant as not to know, that the policy of all
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European states is altered in this respect, and that the great offices are open to men of all religious persuasions. It might have been expedient at that period, when the acrimony of religious dissention still continued in all its rancour; when Europe was separated into two great divisions—the Protestant, and the Catholic; when there existed ramifications of connexion between the same sects in different countries, and when the zeal of the sectarian stifled the voice of conscience, and triumphed over the principles of duty and allegiance.—Whatever combination we may have to apprehend from confederated Europe, it certainly cannot be of a religious nature. The union amongst the Catholics is dissolved; so far from attacking those of another religion, they cannot even defend their own; not only the outworks have been stormed, but the very sanctuary has been profaned; yet to believe some visionary theorists, the Protestant religion is still threatened, because the Catholics cling and adhere to the ancient doctrine of the unity of their church, under one head, and will not renounce

the supremacy of the Pope. Surely such opinions, however they might have operated centuries ago, against the peace and interests of communities professing other and opposite religious sentiments, must become harmless and innocent, when they are unsupported by power, and when few individuals, and no state, have that leisure, that inclination, or that interest which induces them to disturb the peace of other governments for the sake of propagating those opinions, to which their own subjects are become indifferent, and which are, therefore, no longer capable of exciting and inflaming the passions of human hearts, or of becoming operative principles of human action. The opposers of this measure say, that they will not depart from the doctrines and the practice, ratified and confirmed by the revolution; I say, that I will adopt the principles of the revolution, and accept the rule, but reject the exception; surely the illustrious men who brought about that noble settlement, were real lovers of real liberty, and respected the rights of collective man. Those who deposed James the Second, as a tyrant
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and a bigot, must have been the friends of genuine freedom, and of general toleration. Lord Somers was not the leader of a sect, but the advocate of those rights, that are inherent in him who is born a British subject, which he receives not as a favour from any created being; but which he holds by and from the constitution, as his birth-right, and his property. To say that the foundations of such a settlement, were restriction, exclusion, and monopoly, would be the severest satire on the work itself, and an impeachment of the views, and understandings of those who were the principal actors in it. They did not mean to attack the religion of other men, but to defend their own; they had suffered every provocation, were surrounded by those traces of intolerance and persecution, which had marked all the proceedings of the unhappy Monarch who had abdicated the Throne. Whatever bulwarks might have been erected to protect the religion of the state, were of a mere defensive kind, which circumstances might then have justified and required. It became necessary to enchain a vanquished

enemy, who threatened with subjugation every thing that opposed him—a tyrant who trampled on the civil rights of his subjects—a bigot, who wished to proscribe every religion but his own. The recollection of the events which had taken place in their own country, the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth, the revocation of the edict of Nantes; the force, strength, and supposed Union of the Catholics all over Europe, might reasonably have given rise to apprehensions which no rational man, at the present moment, can entertain. They who deposed their Sovereign, and maintained the doctrine of an original contract between King and people, must have had the abstract rights of subjects in contemplation, and never could have accepted the tyranny of the state, when they rejected the despotism of the Crown. I therefore maintain, that every fetter imposed on the human mind, and every legal disability for the conscientious profession of religious opinions, were contrary to the real principles of the revolution; an exception to the rule, only to be justified by the circumstances of the moment. No man can se-

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riously believe, that the perpetual exclusion of Catholics, from power, office, and Parliament, was one of the objects of that settlement; and that because it was the misfortune of the times, in which they lived, not to embrace and receive the liberal and enlightened principles of general toleration; we who are compelled by no necessity, and who are placed in circumstances exactly dissimilar, are to adopt those very principles of Catholic exclusion, as the base of our system and policy, however contrary to the foundation and principles, on which the system itself was erected. No man respects more sincerely than I do, the principles of the revolution, or laments with more unfeigned sorrow, any departure from its theory and practice; but, I think, on other occasions, when the question has been to abridge the rights of the subject, this clamour concerning the sacred and unchangeable doctrines established at the Revolution, was rather weak, than loud; the grief of those who assisted at the funeral of the Constitution, might have been sincere; but it certainly was silent. But when the question is to

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extend franchises, and give privileges ; when we are to reward, and not to punish ; when we are to repel exclusion, and embrace union ; then for the first time, I hear the cry of profanation ; I am told to stop my sacrilegious march, and not to burst asunder the barriers of the Constitution.

It has been said in the course of this debate, that these laws are not the real grievance of Ireland. I maintain that they are the efficient cause, and foundation of that very state of things of which you so forcibly complain—the code of popery laws, was in its origin unjust, unnecessary, and uncalled for, a breach of a solemn compact, the Articles of Limerick ; these laws were not passed in the animosity of contest, in the inflated hour of victory, but in a moment of cool, deliberate, malignant resentment, unprovoked by aggression, or excused by the existence of danger, real or imaginary. Who can suppose that such a code, so inhuman, so sanguinary, so contrary to every sound principle of legislation, so diabolical in its enactments, so extended in its operation,

could have existed for near a century, without producing the most mischievous effects. Many of the present calamities of Ireland may be traced to it. A system of policy, almost unexampled in the annals of civilized man, was adopted and pursued in that unhappy country; the consequences which followed are evident, and cannot be denied by any impartial observer. We now suffer for the errors of others, and are punished for crimes, which so far from committing, we have endeavoured to atone for—such is the lot of man! The works of enlightened Politicians too often perish with them; but the effects of a foolish and a wicked administration of government, survive the existence of the folly and the wickedness itself. When I reflect on the History of Ireland since the Reformation, I entertain the strongest conviction, that all the misfortunes which have befallen that country, since that period, have arisen from religious dissensions. The originally defective formation of the House of Commons, by the erection of so many Boroughs, in the reign of James the First; the long discontinuance of Parliament at subsequent periods; the restric-

tions imposed on Irish Commerce; the surrender of legislative independence; the elevation of the sect, and the degradation of the people; such were some of the political consequences of this miserable system. The moral effects were of a much more mischievous tendency, and we cannot now peruse that code, without feelings of sorrow, and indignation, and without making the melancholy acknowledgment, that it must have inflamed the worst passions of those who governed, and debased the minds of those who suffered, and were enslaved. What was the early policy towards Ireland? Eternal separation between the conquerors and the conquered, no admission to the Constitution, no *protection from the law*, no communication of benefits, no intermarriage, no security for life, liberty, and property! Your second policy was religious intolerance, and Catholic proscription; an impotent attempt to give power, liberty, and dominion to the few; oppression, poverty and chains, to the body of the Nation; a blasphemous effort to controul the blessings of God and nature! to say to the many, you shall not multiply,

multiply, and to the physical strength of the country, you shall not be strong—Feeble and impotent men! Miserable and short sighted politicians! Your descendants are now reduced to lament their *own* strength, and to apprehend more from domestic treason, and internal convulsion, than from open and avowed hostility. The failure of both policies is evident. Your complaints are the proofs of the existence of the fact, and the present state of Ireland is your punishment!

I will not be so uncandid, I will not bow so meanly to the prejudices of any man, or set of men, as to attribute every thing to the People, and nothing to the Government. Surely every general effect has a producing cause. The state of the lower class of men in Ireland, has often been the subject of malignant exultation to those, whose sole object it appeared to be, to disgrace and calumniate their own country, and of melancholy pity to those who felt and acknowledged the extent of the evil; that diffused spirit of discontent, that proneness to
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outrage, that disrespect for law, must have some general, latent, and inherent cause. I think I find that cause in the confessed policy adopted towards Ireland for so long a period, which the lenient measures pursued in later times, have not yet been able to cure. Let not man of any nation have the vanity to suppose, that God has created him the superior of his fellow man in Ireland, or blessed him with powers, physical or mental, which he has refused to the other. To the courage and manly firmness of a northern people, they add the acuteness and quickness of a southern one; ardent in all their affections, they are extreme in love and hate; sensible of kindness, impatient of injuries, their gratitude and resentment are without bounds or restraint. They have the virtues and vices arising from quick sensibilities, and from passions strong and irritable, rather provoked, than appeased by the circumstances of their situation. But I am told that the great bodies of the Catholics take no concernment in this question, and feel no interest in its ultimate decision. They care not who sit in Parliament, as
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they will still be obliged to pay the proctor and the tax-gatherer. All this fallacious mode of reasoning, is founded on the supposition, that the exclusion from Parliament is the only thing of which the Catholics have cause to complain. I pass over the petty mortifications of humbled vanity—I will not dwell on the suspicion, which the legislature seems to throw on the whole Catholic body, by enacting that the lowest Protestant tradesman may fill those offices in the place of their mutual residence, which are denied to the richest Catholic merchant. I will not call your attention to their incapacity to enjoy the more important situation of Sheriff in the different counties of Ireland; but the restrictions which they labour under, in the profession of the law and the army, furnish matter of general and loud complaint. No Catholic barrister, whatever may be his integrity, his knowledge, or capacity, can sit on the Bench, or administer as a Judge those laws which it has been the business of his life to study and expound. No Catholic officer can be a General, or command a brigade in the
army.

army.—Thus it has been your wretched policy, to trust, and to suspect; to give power, and refuse confidence! The Catholic crowds the ranks of your army, he may be a Subaltern, a Captain, a Field Officer; but a General! No! In vain may he possess experience, courage, and military genius; he is still marked with the original stain of his religion, which nothing can efface. This operates two ways—it depresses him and injures you; he is deprived of his reward, and you of his services. What! when you are surrounded by enemies, and all Europe is in arms against you! yet still, you adopt those prejudices, and pursue those idle practices, which have been long since exploded, and laughed at by every other government. To inquire into the theology of those who fight your battles, is certainly a mischievous, perhaps an insulting interference. To imagine that the performance of heroic actions depends on speculative notions of religious belief, is to form a most erroneous opinion of human nature, and of the springs of action in the heart of man. They who execute the most brilliant exploits in the field, may be

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bad reasoners, and miserable divines; they, like most men employed in active life, take their religion upon trust, and leave it to others to defend those tenets, which they neither will investigate, nor comprehend :

“ By education most men are misled,
 So they believe, because they so were bred;
 The Priest continues what the Nurse began,
 And thus the Child imposes on the Man.”

By what policy, by what mode of reasoning, by what example, can you sustain the opinion, that a man of a certain religion ought to be a Colonel, but that he ought not to be a General? or how can you prove, that he is worthy to be the one, and unworthy to be the other, and that you can trust him so far and no farther? Does not your conduct clearly demonstrate the hypocrisy of your fears, and that you know, that those dangers do not in reality exist, which you adduce as your apology and justification? You cannot doubt his courage, his zeal, his attachment to his Sovereign and his country; because
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you place him in situations where his treachery might be ruin. But I am told that the Catholic may have toleration, but he must not have power. He therefore may flounder and grovel in the lower situations of the army, but he must not aspire to the higher,—those are reserved for the favoured class of Protestants, to whom alone it is allowed to be high minded, and ambitious, or who can ever reasonably hope to entwine their brows with laurel. But to say to the Catholic, he never shall be powerful in his own country, is only to maintain that Ireland must ever be weak, that her divisions must never be healed, or her distractions cease; that she must never know peace, harmony, or union. Fortunately for you, your vain and silly attempt, cannot be successful. The Catholics will succeed in all their claims, and possess that power, which naturally belongs to the great body of the people in a free country. Property, the profession of the law, the army, your necessities, and their energies, all give power—they cannot be excluded from it.

The policy of your ancestors when Europe was divided into States, having distinct and different interests, and jealous of each other, was cruel and ignoble; but now, that prostrate, and degraded! she is at the foot of your ancient and hereditary enemy! your policy is frenzy! absolute frenzy!—All the great nations of the Continent seem to have coalesced against you; and you standing alone, opposed to this mighty host, unexampled in number, power, and strength, must cover a weak and feeble Ally; and defend your extended Empire in every quarter of the globe. Thus circumstanced, having more persons in proportion to the extent of the population, who dissent from the Church, than in any other country in Europe; you think it right to say to the Catholics, in number four-fifths of the inhabitants of Ireland, you shall not be a Bank Director, a Mayor of a corporate town, a Sheriff, a Judge, or a General. My necessities oblige me to fight with you; but I can govern without you; therefore I draw this line of fixed and immutable separation between us, which no good conduct on your part, which

no late, no tardy, no generous repentance on mine, can ever enable you to pass. And in what times do you do this? When all other countries have become tolerant, and Governments have ceased to enquire into the speculative opinions of their subjects—when the Pretender is no more, when Pope and Popery lie buried in the ruins of the Catholic Church, when the apprehension of danger arising from the extension of opinions, and principles, once supposed to be prevalent, is entirely at an end, and when the danger arising from the menace of external hostility, is increased in a tenfold proportion.

Why the petitioners have chosen this moment rather than another, to appear at your bar, I know not; by whom they are influenced, I care not; but this I know, that their cause is a just and fair one; and of this I am sure, they have much to complain.—If they cannot hope for redress, they may at least expect a patient hearing. When I am told that I act from factious and unworthy motives, I hear the accusa-

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tion with the disdain it deserves. I do not think that I should much advance the cause of the Catholics, were I to endeavour to make them the dupes of one faction, in order that they might become the butt of the malignity of another. I hate persecution, I despise prejudice ; from my earliest youth, I have been the feeble, and calumniated Advocate of a calumniated cause.—I will persevere to the latest hour of my existence. I have already received the highest, and the noblest reward, in the testimony of my own conscience, in the thorough conviction of ultimate success, and in the perfect and assured hope, of the future victory of truth, reason, and justice, over prejudice, malignity and passion.

tion with the dishonour it deserves. I do not think that I should much advance the cause of the Catholics, were I to endeavour to make them the slaves of one faction, in order that they might become the tools of the malignity of another. I hate persecution, I despise bigotry; from my earliest youth I have been the friend and champion of a calm, unbiassed cause. — I will preserve to the latest hour of my existence, I have already received the highest and the noblest reward in the testimony of my own conscience, in the thorough conviction of ultimate success, and in the perfect and assumed hope of the future victory of truth, reason, and justice over prejudice, malignity and passion.

THE
SPEECH

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND
HENRY BATHURST, LL. D.

LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH, &c.

IN

THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

ON THE

CATHOLIC QUESTION,

IN 1808.

THE

SPEECH

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY BATHURST, LL.D.

LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH, &c.

IN

THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

ON THE

CATHOLIC QUESTION,

IN 1893.

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SPEECH, &c.

BISHOP OF NORWICH.—My lords;—I rise, for the first time in my life, to address your lordships, and I rise with unaffected reluctance; not because I entertain the smallest doubt, respecting either the expediency, the policy, or the justice of the measure now under consideration; but, because, to a person in my situation, it must be exceedingly painful, (however firmly persuaded he may be in his own mind) to find himself impelled by a sense of duty, to maintain an opinion, directly the reverse of which is supported by so many wise and good men who belong to the same profession, and who sit upon the same bench with him. Important occasions, however, some-

times arise, on which an individual may be called upon to avow his own sentiments explicitly and unequivocally, without any undue deference to the judgment of others. Such an occasion I conceive the present to be, and shall without further apology trouble your lordships with a few remarks.—I have considered with all the care and attention of which I am capable, the various arguments which are urged against the petition, in favour of the Catholics of Ireland, which has this day, for the second time, been presented and supported by the noble baron on the other side of the house, with his usual abilities, and at the same time, with that well known regard for the real interest of the established church, for its peace, its security, its honour, and its prosperity, which forms, and has always formed so distinguished a part in the character of that noble lord.—These objections, my lords, numerous as they are said to be, may all of them I think, be reduced under four heads. In the first place, it is asserted, or rather strongly insinuated, that the religious tenets of the Catholics

lics are of such a nature as, *per se*, to exclude those who hold them from the civil and military situations to which they aspire. It is next said, that if this were not the case, these situations are matters of favour, not of right, and therefore, the Catholics have no just cause to complain that they are excluded from them. In the third place, we are told, that if it were admitted, that the measure was abstractedly considered just and right; it would be highly inexpedient to repeal statutes, which were passed with much deliberation, and are considered by many, as the bulwarks of the constitution, in church and state. And, lastly, there are some, who contend, that if there were no other objection, the words of the coronation oath present an insuperable bar to the claims of the Catholics. I shall not detain your lordships long in the examination of these objections, because they have been repeatedly discussed, and, as it appears to me, very satisfactorily refuted, by far abler men, both in this house and out of it.—With respect to the religious tenets of the Catholics of the present

day, it is not a little singular, my lords, that we will not allow them to know what their own religious tenets really are. We call upon them for their creed, upon some very important points : and they give it to us without reserve ; but, instead of believing what they say, we refer them, with an air of controversial triumph, to the councils of Constance, or Thoulouse, to the Fourth Lateran Council, or to the Council of Trent. In vain they most explicitly, and most solemnly aver, that they hold no tenet whatsoever, incompatible with their duties, either as men, or as subjects, or in any way hurtful to the government under which they live. In vain they publish Declaration upon Declaration, in all of which they most unequivocally disavow those highly exceptionable tenets which are imputed to them : and not only do they disavow, but they express their abhorrence of them. In vain they confirm these Declarations by an Oath—an Oath, my lords, framed by ourselves, drawn up with all possible care and caution, and couched in terms, as strong as language affords. In addition

dition to these ample securities, for the principles and practice of this numerous and loyal class of our fellow subjects, and fellow Christians, a great statesman, now unhappily no more, caused to be transmitted a string of very important queries, to the principal Catholic Universities abroad; for the purpose of ascertaining with precision, the sentiments of the Catholic clergy, respecting the real nature and extent of the papal power, and some other weighty points. The answers returned to these queries, by those learned bodies, appeared to me at the time, as they do now, perfectly satisfactory, and in the same light they were considered by most dispassionate men. Notwithstanding all this, a concealed jealousy of Catholics still lurks about, by far, too many of us; a jealousy, in my opinion, as unworthy of a frank and enlightened people, as it is injurious and cruel towards those who are the objects of it: for surely, my lords, if there be one position more incontrovertibly true than another, it is this: if an individual, or a body of men, will give to the government under which they live

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uch a security upon oath, as that government itself prescribes ;—if, moreover, they maintain no opinions destructive of moral obligation, or subversive of civil society; their speculative opinions, of a religious nature, can never, with justice or with reason, be urged as excluding them from civil and military situations. The Catholics, my lords, give this security; and having given it, the legislature itself has declared, that they ought to be considered “ as good and loyal subjects ;” as such, therefore, in my view of the subject, they are unquestionably entitled to the privileges which they claim. When I speak of merely speculative opinions of religion, I wish to be understood as meaning such opinions as begin in the understanding, and rest there, and have no practical influence whatsoever upon our conduct in life. With this limitation, I am not sensible that there is any fallacy in the argument which I have made use of; if there be any, I shall be happy to have it pointed out; as I cannot possibly have any motive in view but what from my heart, I believe to be the truth.—Should an
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unfortunate and deep rooted prejudice prevail so far, as to make us say, decidedly and openly, that we will not believe a Catholic even upon his oath, there is an end, my lords, of the discussion at once ; but the argument, if argument it can be called, proves a great deal too much ; and for this plain reason : no obligation more binding than that of an appeal to the Supreme Being by an oath, has hitherto been devised in civil society ;—he, therefore, who can justly be supposed capable of setting at nought such an obligation, upon any pretence whatsoever, is not only unworthy of the privileges here contended for, but he is unfit for all social intercourse of every kind—*Vetabo sub iisdem sitrabibus*—Harsh, and horrid, as the expression must sound in your lordships ears, he ought to be exterminated from the face of the earth ; or at least he should be banished for life to Botany Bay ; and even when arrived there he should be driven back into the sea ;—for there is no den of thieves, no gang of robbers, no banditti so thoroughly profligate, and at the same time so devoid of common understanding,

as to admit that man, a member of their community, upon whose fidelity to his engagements no reliance can be placed even for a single hour.—I come now to the second objection; my answer to which will be very short. Civil and military appointments, are it seems, matters of favour, not of right, and therefore the Catholics have no just cause to complain that they are excluded from them. I can hardly, my lords, conceive any man in earnest who regards this distinction as applicable to the present case, because no one pleads for an abstract right to these situations, but for a capacity of holding them: no one contends for the absolute possession of civil and military offices, but for equal eligibility to them; and having endeavoured to prove, that all men are equally eligible, who give to the government under which they live, such a security, upon oath, for their conduct as subjects, as that government itself prescribes, and who maintain no opinions destructive of moral obligation or subversive of civil society, I shall only add here, that they are so considered to be, in almost

most all the governments of Europe, and over the whole continent of America: and I shall be sorry to see England the last to follow so good an example. "But it is inexpedient," we are told, "to repeal statutes, which were passed with much deliberation, and are considered by many as the bulwarks of the constitution in church and state." How long, my lords, it may be thought expedient, or necessary, that the remaining part of these restrictive disqualifying statutes should be enforced against the Catholics, or at what precise period their operation shall end, is a question not for a divine, but for lawyers and statesmen to decide. I may however be permitted to observe, that under any government, however free, though peculiar circumstances may perhaps call for statutes of a very strict, and even of a very severe nature, for a limited period of time, yet no wise statesman would, I imagine, wish those statutes to remain unrepealed, a moment after the circumstances which occasioned them cease to exist. Those who are acquainted with the history of the statutes here alluded to, and of
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the times, in which they passed, will anticipate my application of this remark: the application of it is indeed, made for me, by a very eminent lawyer, and a very cordial friend to the ecclesiastical, as well as to the civil constitution of this realm. This able writer observes, more than once in his Commentaries, that “when- ever the period shall arrive, when the power of the Pope is weak and insignificant, and there is no Pretender to the throne, that then will be the time to grant full indulgence to the Catholics.” That time, my lords, is now come; there is no Pretender to the throne; and with respect to the Papal Power, not a single person present, apprehends, I am thoroughly persuaded, any danger from it;—in truth that once gigantic power—*magni stat nominis umbra*—and nothing more. Where, then, can be the objection to granting the Petition of the Catholics of Ireland? A Petition founded on the immutable principles of reason and of justice; a Petition also which worldly policy loudly calls upon us to accede to in the present very serious crisis—a crisis which demands the union of the

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wise and brave of every description and of every denomination; that cordial union, I mean, which is most assuredly the best support, and indeed the only secure bulwark of every government upon earth. It is unnecessary to add, that an union of this kind can be obtained only by confidence and conciliation: but, if worldly policy did not thus loudly call upon us, a principle of gratitude should lead us to pay all the attention in our power to these numerous loyal and respectable petitioners, to whom we are in a great measure indebted, for the noblest monument of wisdom and beneficence combined, which modern times have seen: I mean the union of Ireland with England, an union, which without their cordial co-operation, could never have been effected.——In reply to these observations, which appear to me to carry some weight with them; there are some who maintain, that if there were no other objection the words of the Coronation Oath present an insuperable bar to the claims of the Catholics of Ireland. Of all the arguments, my lords, which either principle or prejudice has suggested,

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or which imagination has started, there is not one, which appears to me to rest upon so weak a foundation, as that which is built upon the words of the coronation oath. This oath, as your lordships well know, underwent some alteration at the period of the Revolution in 1688, at which period, that great prince, William the Third, entered into the following solemn engagement when he ascended the throne of this kingdom :——“ I will maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the reformed Protestant church established by law ; and I will preserve to the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges, as by law do or shall appertain unto them, or to any of them.”—If, my lords, even intelligent and honest men were not sometimes disposed to adopt any mode of reasoning, however weak, which coincides with their pre-conceived ideas upon a subject, it would be no easy matter to find out, upon what principle of fair construction, the words which I have just repeated from the coronation oath, can be thought to militate

militate against the claims of the Catholics of Ireland. It will not, I trust, be said, for I am sure it cannot be proved, that it is either repugnant to the “ laws of God,” or, to the unconfined and benevolent tendency of the Gospel, or to those liberal and enlightened principles, upon which the reformation was founded; to admit to situations of honour, or of profit in the state, men of talents and of virtue, to whom no objection can possibly be made, but their speculative opinions of merely a religious nature; nor can I conceive in what manner “ the rights and privileges of the bishops and clergy of this realm, or of the churches committed to their charge,” can be affected by granting civil and military appointments to men, cordially devoted to the civil constitution, and who have solemnly declared upon oath, that it is neither their intention, nor their wish, to injure or disturb the ecclesiastical. For my own part, my lords, as an individual clergyman of the church of England, sincerely attached to the established church, and proud of the situation which I hold in it, I should be ex-

ceedingly sorry, if I could think for a moment, that I possessed any rights, or privileges, incompatible with the just claims of so many excellent subjects and conscientious fellow-christians. Be it however admitted, my lords, that the words of the coronation oath will bear the construction which has been put upon them, I wish to ask, where was the objection drawn from this oath, when, in 1782, so many indulgencies were wisely and justly granted to the Catholics of Ireland? Indulgencies precisely of the same kind, though differing in degree, from those which are now petitioned for.—But, I forbear to push this argument any further; various considerations restrain me: and perhaps enough has been said, to prove, that the words of the coronation oath have been unadvisedly and inconclusively brought forward during the discussion of that important question, which has engaged the attention of the public for more than three years. I will now detain your lordships no longer: indeed, I should not have presumed to intrude so long upon your patience, had I not thought it incumbent

cumbent upon me to assign the best reasons in my power, for differing so widely from those around me, whose judgment I respect, though I cannot implicitly bow to it, against the clearest conviction of my understanding, and the best feelings of my heart."

ADVERTISEMENT

*To the Bishop of Llandaff's Charge to his
Diocese, in 1805.*

A NUMEROUS and respectable part of the Clergy of my Diocese requested me, at the time it was delivered, to publish the Charge which is now submitted to the world. I excused myself from complying with their request, because I considered the Catholic Question to have been then settled, at least for a time; and I was unwilling to revive the discussion of a subject, on which I had the misfortune to differ in Opinion from a Majority in each House of Parliament.—I have still that misfortune—but looking upon the situation of the Empire to be abundantly more hazardous now than it was three years ago, I have thought it a duty to declare publicly my approbation of a measure, calculated, I sincerely believe, above all other measures, to support the Independence of the Country—to secure the Stability of the Throne—to promote Peace among fellow-subjects, and Charity among fellow-christians,—and in no probable degree dangerous to the Constitution, either in Church or State.

R. L.

Calgarth Park,
1st June, 1808.

THE
SPEECH

OF

Sir J. C. HIPPISEY, Bart.

IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON THE

CATHOLIC QUESTION,

IN 1808.

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OF A C. APPENDIX

THE HISTORY OF

THE HISTORY OF

SPEECH, &c.

SIR J. C. HIPPISELY observed, that as a noble Viscount* near him had been the only speaker who had, as yet, in the course of the debate, expressed any apprehension of the danger of the proposed concessions, he trusted his Lordship's mind would be greatly relieved by adverting to the numerous authorities which had been cited in favour of the principles of Roman Catholics, and, on a question of this nature, he also trusted that the House would be of opinion that those authorities had a claim to particular attention, which were derived from distinguished Prelates of the Established

* Viscount Pollington.

Church. Sir J. H. then quoted a passage from the Bishop of Landaff's preface to his Theological Collections: "The ruling powers, in Protestant and Catholic States, " says his Lordship, " begin, at length, every where to perceive, that an uniformity of sentiments, in matters of religion, is a circumstance impossible to be obtained. They perceive too, that a diversity of religious opinions may subsist among the subjects of the same state, without endangering the commonweal; and they begin to think it reasonable, that no man should be abridged in the exercise of natural rights, on the score of religion."—Again, the same venerable Prelate has said, in his publication intituled "A Speech intended to have been spoken in the House of Lords, on the 28th of November, 1803"—"If any one should contend, that this is not the time for Government to make concessions to Ireland, I wish him to consider whether there is any time in which it is improper for either individuals or nations to do justice; any season improper for extinguishing animosity; any occasion more suitable than the

the present, for putting an end to heart-burnings and internal discontent? The late Dr. Horsley, Bishop of St. Asaph, in the debate on the Catholic Petition, in 1805, observed, " I do not hold that there is any thing in the Roman Catholic Religion at variance with the principles of loyalty—I do not believe that any Roman Catholic of the present day thinks himself at liberty not too keep faith with heretics—not bound by his oath to a Protestant Government—or that the Pope can release him from the obligation of his oath of allegiance to his Sovereign. I had (said his Lordship), a perfect knowledge of the questions proposed, and the answers returned by the foreign universities, in which those abominable principles [the deposing and dispensing power] were most completely and unanimously reprobated by those learned bodies to which the questions were propounded, and I am persuaded the Roman Catholics are sincere in their disavowal and abjuration of those pernicious maxims. I hold that the Roman Catholics of this country are dutiful and loyal subjects of his Majesty." Sir J.

H. then

H. then adverted to a charge delivered to the clergy of his diocese, by the Bishop of Norwich, in 1806, in which that learned Prelate most justly and liberally observed, speaking of the Catholics, " that their conduct, and the unequivocal declarations made by them, in a variety of publications, are strongly expressive of their total disapprobation of compulsion in religion. And that it would be very unfair to involve in the guilt of the misguided zealots of former days, a body of men of a far different description, to whom it is our duty, and should be our inclination, to shew every mark of benevolence, both as brethren, and as deserving fellow-subjects." Sir J. H. regretted, that the impatience of the House seemed to check his proceeding to give other more enlarged quotations from that inestimable record of Christian charity and moderation, so admirably suited to inculcate the most wholesome truths at the present crisis. Sir J. H. then proceeded to state, that he had received, by that day's post, as he found many other members also had received, an anonymous circular paper, reflecting on the character

character and conduct of Doctor Milner, who, in a former debate, had also been, and with as little foundation, attacked by a learned Member of that House, on account of a work intitled, "The Case of Conscience."—Dr. Milner had been fully vindicated on that occasion by his honourable and learned Friend below him* ; and on the present occasion, Sir J. H. contended, it was not less a debt of justice due to the Roman Catholic Titular Metropolitans of Ireland, than to Dr. Milner himself, to examine how far the facts alleged against him were intitled to credit, and, consequently, objects of censure. Dr. Milner was himself a Prelate of the Roman Communion, and was formally accredited to this country by those Prelates, as the organ of their sentiments, to treat in their behalf, if any such treaty became necessary, and to propose or assent to such measures as might eventually be connected with the objects of the present important discussion. A proposition stated by his right honourable Friend, who moved the question, and certainly of the

* Dr. Laurence.

greatest importance, had been introduced to the House, on the authority of Dr. Milner,—in proportion, therefore, as censure attached to the conduct of Dr. Milner, it might be reflected on his constituents. Whatever might be the merit or demerit of Dr. Milner's recent publication, from which the passage in the circulated paper had been *garbled*, as on a former occasion, without any regard to the context, a reference to it, in the book itself, would afford the best defence that could be made for this respectable Ecclesiastic, whose reputation was thus anonymously attacked, on the subject of his representation of the mode of administering an oath in Ireland; and with respect to the 2d charge, of his being accessory to the reprinting, by subscription, the *Errata of the Protestant Bible*—Dr. Milner was in no way privy to that publication, which had been undertaken before his arrival in Ireland, although he is charged with taking over the old edition, expressly for the purpose of publishing it. Nor was it by the authority of any of the Roman Catholic Prelates that the republication had

taken

place, notwithstanding many of the clergy had subscribed, on the application of the bookseller who published it. At the same time, it was fair to observe, that an exposition of Catholic Principles was subjoined to that publication, which might justly challenge the approbation of the warmest friends of the Establishment, as containing the most pointed abjuration of every dangerous or obnoxious tenet which had ever been ascribed to Catholics, and which no Catholic will conscientiously refuse to make. This supplementary exposition had been drawn up by Gother, an ecclesiastic of the Roman Communion, and of whose writings Sir J. H. related this anecdote: That the present Bishop of Elphin, (the brother of a noble and learned Lord) had, in one of his publications, observed—"By far the greatest part of the population of my diocese are Roman Catholics. I know (says his Lordship) I cannot make them good Protestants; I therefore wish to make good Catholics of them; and with this intention, I put into their hands the works of Gother, an eminent Catholic divine." This

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was a conduct at once consistent with liberality and the soundest policy. The same respectable Prelate, in the debate on the Catholic Bill in 1793, candidly admitted, that "speculative differences in some points of faith were of no account. His Roman Catholic brethren and himself had but one religion—the religion of Christians; and that, without justice to the Catholics, there could be no security for the Protestant Establishment." Sir J. H. then made some observations on the contrasted Catechisms of the Protestant incorporated Society and the general Catechism of the Roman Catholic Titular Metropolitans—the one but too evidently inculcating an abhorrence of their Catholic brethren; the other, instilling the principles of Christian charity, and loyalty to the Established Government. It was to be regretted, he observed, that those societies, established no doubt with the most laudable design, should have fallen into a course so ill adapted, on Christian principles, to promote their object. Sir J. H. then reverted to the charges brought by Dr. Duigenan against Dr. Milner, on account
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of his publication of his *Case of Conscience*, from which tract he had quoted an insulated passage, without reference to the context, giving it the complexion of a most offensive and dangerous doctrine with respect to the obligations of an oath: whereas a much celebrated Dignitary of the Established Church, the late Chancellor of Winchester, who was known to have been long opposed to Dr. Milner, in the field of theological controversy, had expressed an opinion of the same tract very different from that of the learned Gentleman opposite. In a Letter Sir J. H. observed that he had the gratification to receive from the late Dr. Sturges, and from which, with the permission of his honourable Friend on the Treasury Bench, (who stood in so near and tender a relation to that truly respectable Divine), he would beg to read an extract. “ Dr. Milner’s pamphlet on the King’s oath,” says Dr. Sturges, “ is able and *unanswerable*, — the Catholics, I think, are obliged to me for calling forth his letters to a Prebendary, written *against me*, which I see are frequently referred to as a work of high authority.”

rity." Sir J. H. proceeded to make same observations on the *Concordat* between the Government of France and the See of Rome, in 1801, many of the restrictions of which were, in point of fact, conceded by Leo the Tenth, in his *Concordat* with Francis the First, and the subsequent regulations of the French Government, as far as they respect the admission and registration of rescripts, &c. from the See of Rome, are the same as were instituted under the old *regime* of the Gallican Church, viz. that "no bull, rescript, decree, nor other missive from the See of Rome, shall be received, published, or otherwise put in force, without the authority of the Government." Our Government, of course, are free to institute similar restrictions, which might materially tend to quiet the apprehensions of the most scrupulous, whenever the See of Rome should be considered as acting under a hostile influence, and become an object of justifiable suspicion. Such were unquestionably the regulations from the time of Francis the First,—established as guards against a foreign influence, but practically, it was seldom, if ever,

ever, found necessary to resort to that control. The ecclesiastical constitution of France also provided both a Lutheran and Calvinistical establishment*, with their relative synods, &c. But with respect to the Catholic Communion, the address, prefacing the act of establishment, declares, “That the Catholic Religion is that of a vast majority of the French nation;—to abandon so powerful an engine, therefore, would be to desire the first ambitious knave, or unsuccessful demagogue, who wished to convulse France anew, to seize it, and direct it against his country.” The application to the case of Ireland was but too obvious.—Sir J. H. then observed, that he could not, on this occasion, forbear citing the authority of that great statesman, Mr. Pitt, who decidedly admitted the ge-

* Vide the Concordat of Pius VII. with the annexed regulations, &c. Dublin printed, 1802.—Extract of a Charge of the Bishop of Landaff, delivered to his clergy, in June 1805, published by Messrs. Cadell and Davies, Strand. “France has gone beyond every European state in liberality, and, it appears to me, in sound policy, inasmuch as she has undertaken, not only to pay the Catholic Ministers of the majority of the people, but the Protestant Ministers also of certain minorities of the people who cannot in conscience unite in religious worship with the majority.”

neral loyalty of the Catholics, and denied that the rebellion of 1798 was a Catholic rebellion. Adding also: " That whatever checks he had had in contemplation heretofore, they did not apply to the Catholics, as *Catholics*, but such tests as should be a security against the principles on which the rebellion originated."—As the House seemed to express much impatience for the question, Sir J. H. begged to remind them, that although twenty years had elapsed since his first introduction to a seat in that House, he had rarely trespassed on their patience; but on the present occasion, he could not reconcile himself to a silent vote, and the extracts he had adduced, he felt, were entitled to the most serious attention of those who questioned the justice and policy of the proposed concessions.—He had confined the authorities quoted, to such opinions chiefly as had been given on this subject, by distinguished Prelates of the Established Church, and which, indeed, might have been multiplied, with undiminished force, to an extent little suited to the present disposition of the House. He then expressed his re-

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gret that the learned Doctor, who, on a former occasion, brought down so many antiquated documents in his hand, had not, on the present occasion, delivered his sentiments, as Sir J. C. H. was fully prepared to have replied to him. He begged also the Chancellor of the Exchequer, (who had on a preceding night contended that religious toleration should be excluded from any aids derived from the public purse), to recollect that we had, at this moment, both Lutheran and Calvinistical churches and preachers established within the precincts of St. James's Palace, paid from the Civil List, and wisely so in his opinion, although the right honourable Gentleman must be aware that the Communion of the Lutheran, as well as the Catholic, maintained the *real presence* in the Sacrament. This speculative tenet, nevertheless, had not been considered as a bar to state provision, which had been made for those professing it, and which had existed from the days of Queen Ann, when it was first established. It was incumbent on the House also to recollect that Roman Catholics had sat and voted in Parlia-

ment, during four successive reigns, *since the period of the Reformation*.—With this observation he should conclude, giving his hearty concurrence in the question for going into a Committee of the whole House, in which this important subject might be more adequately considered.

DECREES

OF THE

FRENCH EMPEROR,

RESPECTING THE

PAPAL DOMINIONS.

1808.

DECREES

FRENCH EMPEROR

IMPERIAL INSTITUTIONS

DECREES, &c.

THE following Extract from the Vienna Gazette, containing a Decree issued by the French Emperor, will shew how far the preponderance of the Pope in temporal matters is to be dreaded. It will also exhibit a memorable contrast between the holy Father's attachment to his Majesty King George the Third, and the reluctance of the Government of Great Britain, to do justice to the Roman Catholics, &c.

DECREE I.

NAPOLEON, &c.

Whereas the present Sovereign of Rome has uniformly refused to declare war against the English, and to unite himself to the Kings
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of Italy and of Naples, for the common defence of the Peninsula of Italy; and whereas the safety and interests of these two kingdoms, and of their armies require, that their mutual communications shall no longer be interrupted by the interference of any hostile power; and whereas, finally, Charlemagne, our glorious predecessor, did gratuitously make over those countries which now constitute the Pope's dominions, for the good of Christendom, and not for the benefit or advantage of the enemies of our holy religion, and as the Pope's Ambassador at Paris, did on the fifth day of March demand his necessary passports to enable him to depart; We have decreed and do decree the following :

I. The provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, are irrevocably, and for ever; incorporated with our kingdom of Italy.

II. On the 11th day of May, regular possession shall be taken of these Provinces, and the arms of the kingdom of Italy shall be put up.

III. The

III. The Napoleon code shall be declared and the laws and regulations, therein contained, shall be in force on the 1st day of June next following.

IV. The provinces united to the kingdom of Italy, shall form three departments, and shall have, in every respect, the same constitution that the kingdom of Italy possesses.

V. At Ancona there shall be established a Court of Appeal, and a Chamber of Commerce. The city of Sinigaglia, (famous for its fairs,) shall in the same manner have a Chamber of Commerce. Courts of Justice of the first appeal, and Justices of Peace, shall be established.

VI. The three new departments constitute a military division, of which Ancona is the principal place.

VII. We invest our well-beloved son the Viceroy, with the necessary powers to cause

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the present Decree to be put into execution.

Given at our Imperial Palace of St. Cloud,

April 2, 1808.

DECREE II.

NAPOLEON, &c.

I. The Cardinals, Prelates, and all Persons of whatsoever rank or description, holding places or situations of trust under the Court of Rome, and being natives of the kingdom of Italy, are ordered to repair to the same, after the expiration of the 25th day of the present month, under pain of having all their property confiscated.

II. All the goods, chattels, &c. of such persons as shall not pay implicit obedience to this decree, before the 5th day of June next following, shall be liable to the penalties of sequestration, &c.







